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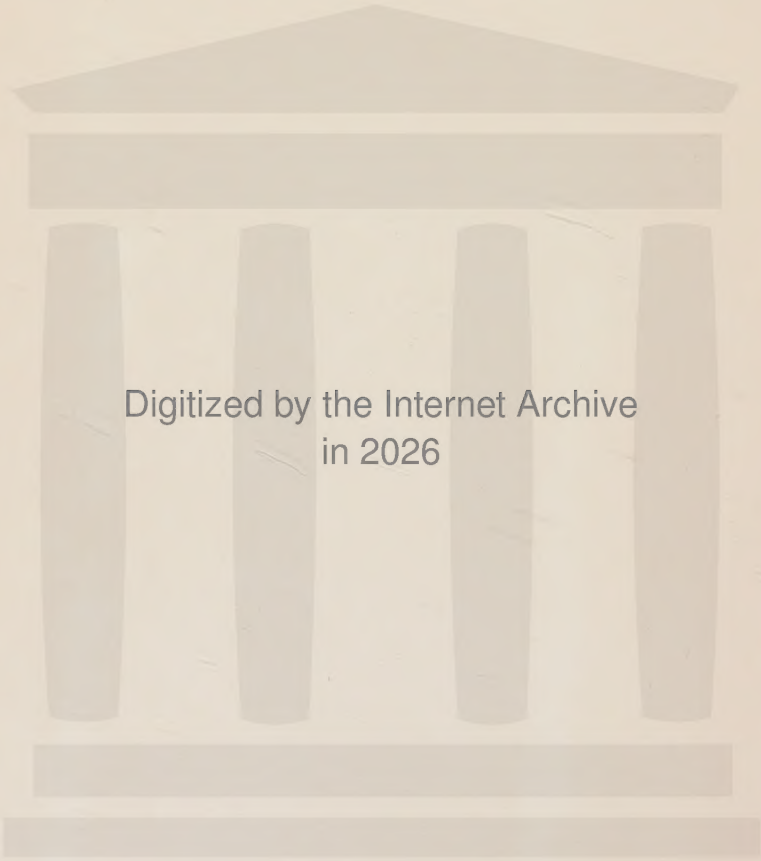
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THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

VOLUME EIGHT

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The History of Scotland Its Highlands, Regiments and Clans

By
JAMES BROWNE, LL. D.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES
VOLUME VIII

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CONTENTS

REGIMENTS

	PAGE
Seventy-Third Regiment, or Lord Macleod's Highlanders	1
Argyle Highlanders	19
Macdonald's Highlanders	21
Athole Highlanders	25
Seaforth's Highlanders	29
Aberdeenshire Highland Regiment	36
Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment	37
Forty-second, or Royal Highland Regiment	40
Seventy-fourth Regiment	51
Seventy-fifth Regiment	54
Ross-shire Highlanders	56
Cameron Highlanders	99
Strathspey Regiment	105
Argyleshire Highlanders	106
Gordon Highlanders	106
Sutherland Highlanders	119

FENCIBLE CORPS

1.	The Argyle Fencibles — 1759	127
2.	The Sutherland Fencibles — 1759	127
3.	The Argyle or Western Fencibles — 1778	128
4.	The Gordon Fencibles — 1778	128
5.	The Sutherland Fencibles — 1779	129
6.	The Grant or Strathspey Fencibles — 1793	129
7.	The Breadalbane Fencibles — 1793 and 1794	131
8.	The Sutherland Fencibles — 1793	133
9.	The Gordon Fencibles — 1793	134
10.	The Argyle Fencibles — 1793	134
11.	The Rothsay and Caithness Fencibles — 1794 and 1795	134
12.	The Dumbarton Fencibles — 1794	136
13.	The Reay Fencibles — 1794	137
14.	The Inverness-shire Fencibles — 1794	139
15.	The Fraser Fencibles — 1794	140
16.	The Glengarry Fencibles — 1794	141
17.	The Caithness Legion — 1794	147
18.	The Perthshire Fencibles — 1794	147

UNIVERSITY

CONTENTS

PAGE

19. The Argyle Fencibles — 1794 148
20. The Lochaber Fencibles — 1799 148
21. The Clan-Alpine Fencibles — 1799 149
22. The Ross-shire Fencibles — 1796 149
23. Regiment of the Isles, or Macdonald Fencibles — 1799 . 150
24. The Argyle Fencibles — 1799 150
25. The Ross and Cromarty Rangers — 1799 . . . 151
26. The Macleod Fencibles — 1799 151

HISTORY OF THE HIGHLAND CLANS

CHAPTER I

DIFFUSION OF CELTIC RACE

Extensive diffusion of the Celtic race — Fortunes of this race — Early history of nations — Inferences to be drawn from the remains of language — Peculiar customs and institutions of the Celtic race, anterior to their expulsion from the plains, little known — Nature of the inquiry to be pursued — Patriarchal system of government — Division of the people into tribes or clans — Probable origin of this division — Physical conformation of the country — The patriarchal different from the feudal and other systems — Its peculiarities — The *jus sanguinis* — The great principle of the patriarchal system community of origin, or supposed identity of family and blood — Contrasted with feudalism — Resemblance and contrariety — The feudal system, in as far as regarded tenures and jurisdictions, easily introduced — Peculiarities of clanship remained entire and unaffected — Description of these — General remarks — Consequences resulting from the division of the people into tribes or clans — Bonds of amity, or manrent — State of the Highlands under this system — Spirit of lawless revenge — Customs which nursed it — Law of succession — Tanistry — Gavel — Law of marriage — Custom of hand-fasting — Gradation of ranks — Resemblance in the classification of society to that which prevailed in Ireland and Wales — Native men and *cumerlach* — Gradation of ranks in the clan or tribe — The *righ, maormor, tanist, ceantighes, toisich,* etc. — The captain, or leader of a clan, distinguished from a chief — Mode in which the authority of the chiefs was exercised — Practical limitations of their authority — Independence, and incorruptible fidelity of the people 155

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF CLANS OBSCURE

Early history of the clans involved in obscurity — Traditionary origin ascribed to them — The Scottish or Irish system — The heroic or fabulous — The Norwegian or Danish — Mr. Skene's theory as to the origin of the modern

PAGE

Highlanders — Objection to this theory stated — The difficulty shifted backwards, not removed — The Northern Picts — The Caledonians — Points left unexplained by Mr. Skene — Tradition of a Pictish descent examined — The "Reddschankes" or "Pictis" — Insufficiency of the evidence on which it is sought to identify the Highlanders with the Northern Picts — Conflicting traditions — Reasoning of Mr. Skene unsatisfactory and inconclusive — Division of the clans in the old genealogies — Principle of classification stated, with the reasons for adopting it . . 187

CHAPTER III

EARLY GAELIC CLANS

The Gallgael or Gaulgall — This race identical with the Vikingr Skotar of the Sagas — The Western Isles and Argyle occupied by them — Supposed identity of the Gaulgall and the Northern Picts — Argyle — Its various denominations and extent — Wester Ross — Ancient sheriffdoms — Clans inhabiting the district of Argyle — Siol-Cuinn, or Race of Conn, the most powerful tribe of which were the Macdonalds — This race supposed by some to be of Irish, and by others, of Norwegian descent — Traditions of the Macdonalds themselves — Their supposed identity with the Gaulgael — Somerled — History of this chief — His fortune and ambition — Attempts to place his son upon the throne of the Isles — Sovereignty divided between Godred and the son of Somerled — Attempt to depose Malcolm IV — Defeat and death of Somerled — He is succeeded by his grandson of the same name — Conduct of the latter — His defeat and violent death — Consequences — Erection of Argyle into a sheriffdom — Districts included therein — Power of the Macdonalds on the mainland broken by this reverse — The race of Dugall — Reginald — The Sudereyan kings — Haco — Alexander II — Alexander III — Expedition of the Earl of Ross — Conduct of Ewen the son of Duncan — Battle of Largs, 1266, and defeat of the Norwegians — General Remarks 205

CHAPTER IV

STRUGGLES FOR SUPREMACY

Division of the Siol-Cuinn into three distinct branches — Reginald, father of Rory, Donald, and Dugall, the heads of these clans — Clan Rory — Reginald's share of the inheritance left by his father Somerled — His titles did not descend to his children — Succeeded by Roderick, a noted pirate — Eventual succession of Allan, the son of Roderick — Roderick, son of Allan, considered as illegitimate by the feudal law — Effect of the Highland law — Succeeded by his son Ranald — Feud with the Earl of Ross — Ranald mur-

PAGE

dered at Elcho — John of the Isles — Clan Donald — Origin — Pilgrimage of Donald — Angus Mor — Convention of 1284 — His sons Alexander and Angus Og — Fidelity of the latter to the fortunes of King Robert Bruce — Lordships and lands conferred on Angus Og — His sons John and John Og — Change of policy by John, and his junction with the party of Edward Baliol — Treaty — Accession of David II — Arrangement between the King and the Lord of the Isles — Fresh disputes — State of parties in Scotland — — The Steward of Scotland — Gives his daughter in marriage to John — Insurrection of the northern barons — Conduct of the Steward — Treaty between David II and John at Inverness — Accession of Robert Stewart to the throne — His policy in regard to the family of the Isles — Effects of this — Division of the clan— Earldom of Ross — Claim of Donald of the Isles — Battle of Harlaw — Recovery of the Earldom by Albany — Succession of Alexander, son of Donald — James I — Arrest of the northern barons at Inverness — Consequence of this — Bold march of the king — Total defeat and captivity of Alexander — John, Lord of the Isles — Rebellion of his son, Angus Og — Battle of the Bloody Bay — Accession of James IV — Forfeiture and death of John of the Isles — Decline and fall of the Macdonalds — Fruitless attempts to regain their ascendency — Different branches of the Macdonalds — Family of Sleat 221

CHAPTER V

THE MACDUGALLS AND OTHERS

1. *Clan Dugall* — Their origin — First appearance of this family — Their opposition to Bruce — Battle of Dalree, or the King's Field, and defeat of Bruce — The Macdugalls, in their turn, defeated — Consequences of this — Bannockburn — John of Lorn — His marriage with a granddaughter of Robert Bruce — Subsequent history of the family — 2. *Siol Gillevray* — Macneills — Families of Barra and Gigha — Clan Lachlan — Clan Ewen — 3. *Siol Eachern* — Clan Dugall Craignish — Clan Lamond 253

CHAPTER VI

DISTRICT OF ATHOLE

District of Athole — Its claims to attention — This district the original patrimony of the family which gave kings to Scotland, from Duncan to Alexander III — Crinan, Abbot of Dunkeld, the father of Duncan — Title of Abthane — Circumstances in which it originated — Clan Donnachie — Its origin and descent — Possessions — Clan Pharlan — The Macfarlanes descended from Gilchrist, a younger brother of Malduin, Earl of Lennox — Proof of this — History and character of the clan 266

CONTENTS

PAGE

CHAPTER VII

RISE OF THE MACKINTOSHES

Native earls of Moray — Their final subjugation — Formation of several independent clans — The Clan Chattan — Chiefship disputed — Observations on this subject — Some recent investigations examined — Combat on the North Inch of Perth — Victory gained by the champions of the Clan Chattan — Remarks on this occurrence — The Mackintoshes — Their establishment as captains of the Clan Chattan — Division of the clan — The Mackintoshes recognized as its head — Their rise to power and influence — Several of the chiefs murdered — Invasion of Moray by Hector Mackintosh — His defeat and death — Accession of the lawful chief — Feud with Huntly — Singular fate of William Mackintosh — Final separation of the Macphersons from the Mackintoshes — Pretensions of the former — Judgment of the Privy Council — Subsequent history of the Mackintoshes — Feud with the Macdonalds of Keppoch — Battle of Mulroy — Gallant and honourable conduct of the Macphersons — Rebellions of 1715 and 1745 — Concealment and ultimate escape of Macpherson of Cluny — Fidelity and devotion of the Macphersons — Reference to a circumstance mentioned in the Stuart Papers 287

CHAPTER VIII

CLANS CHAMERON AND GILLEAN

The Clan Chameron—Common Origin of the Clan Chameron and the Clan Chattan — Period of their separation — Traditional descent of the Camerons — Their original seat in Lochaber — Modern possessions how acquired — The clan anciently divided into three Septs — Captainship of the clan — Donald Dhu — Feud with the Mackintoshes — Battle of Inverlochy — Lands of the Camerons ravaged — Lords of the Isles — Subsequent misfortunes of the clan — Allan, the son of Donald Dhu — His character — Succeeded by his son Ewen — Lands of Clan Ranald — John Moydertach — Invasion of Huntly and Lovat — The latter defeated and slain — Ewen Allanson seized, tried, and executed at Elgin — Subsequent history of the Clan Chameron — Evan Dhu of Lochiel— His education, character, and exploits — The last of the Highland chiefs to submit to Cromwell — Honourable nature of his submission — Present at the Battle of Renrorie or Killicrankie — Anecdotes of this chivalrous chief — His death — Character of his grandson, the "gentle Lochiel" — Forfeiture and restoration of the family estates — Strength of the clan — The *Clan Gillean* — Divided into four branches — Macleans of Dowart — Macleans of Lochbuy — Macleans of Coll — Macleans of Ardgour — General remarks on this clan — Partizans of

PAGE

the house of Stuart — It took no part in the insurrection of 1745 — Its force 307

CHAPTER IX

CLAN CAMPBELL AND OTHERS

1. Clan Campbell — Their supposed Norman origin disproved — Sketch of their history — 2. Macleods — Siol Torquil — Siol Tormod — Notices of these branches or tribes — 3. Clan Kenneth — Its origin and history — 4. Clan-Roich — 5. Siol Alpine — 6. Families not originally of Celtic origin — Stewarts — Menzies — Frasers — Chisholms — Conclusion 326

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
Killiecrankie	*Frontispiece*
Tartan of the Macintosh	40
Tartan of the Forbes	90
Loch Rannoch	140
Tartan of the Drummond	190
Armorial Bearings	240
Tartan of the Macarthur	290
Tartan of the Macnab	330

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

Volume VIII

SEVENTY-THIRD REGIMENT

OR LORD MACLEOD'S HIGHLANDERS, NOW SEVENTY-FIRST OR GLASGOW LIGHT INFANTRY

1777

This regiment took its original name from Lord Macleod, eldest son of the Earl of Cromarty, both of whom were engaged in the rebellion of 1745. Having, on account of his youth, received an unconditional pardon for his share in that transaction, Lord Macleod went abroad in quest of employment in foreign service. He sojourned some time at Berlin with Field Marshal Keith, through whose interest, it is believed, he obtained a commission in the Swedish army. At this time his means were so limited that he was unable to equip himself for the service, but the Chevalier de St. George, on the recommendation of Lord George Murray, generously sent him a sum of money to defray the expenses of his outfit. He is described by Lord George as "a young man of real merit, who, he was hopeful, would gain the good opinion of those under whom he was to serve. This expectation was fully realized, and after serving the Crown of Sweden twenty-seven years with distinguished approbation, he obtained the rank of lieutenant-general.

Though exiled so long from his native country the

attachment to the land of his birth was not in the least abated, and, desirous of revisiting it, he returned to England in the year 1777, and was presented to George III, who received him very graciously. At the suggestion of Colonel Duff of Muirtown, who had served in Keith's Highlanders, and encouraged by the favourable reception he met with in the North, he offered his services to raise a regiment. The offer was accepted, and although without property or political consequence, yet so great was the influence of his name, that 840 Highlanders were raised and marched to Elgin in a very short time. In addition to these, 236 Lowlanders were raised by Captains the Honourable John Lindsay, David Baird, James Fowlis, and other officers, besides thirty-four English and Irish, who were enlisted in Glasgow, making in all eleven hundred men. The corps was embodied at Elgin, and inspected there by General Skene in April, 1778. About this time letters of service were issued for raising a second battalion of the same size as the first, — a service which was speedily performed. The men of both battalions, of whom nearly eighteen hundred were from those parts of the Highlands where the interest of Lord Macleod's family had once predominated, were of a robust constitution and of exemplary behaviour.

The first battalion, under Lord Macleod, embarked for the East Indies in January, 1779, and arrived in Madras Roads on the twentieth of January following. The second battalion, under the command of the Honourable Lieut.-Colonel George Mackenzie, brother of Lord Macleod, was sent to Gibraltar, where they landed two days before the arrival of the second battalion at Madras.

The second battalion formed part of the garrison of Gibraltar during the siege, which lasted upwards of three years. In this, the only service in which it was

engaged, the battalion had thirty privates killed and seven sergeants, and 121 rank and file wounded. In May, 1783, it returned to England and was reduced at Stirling in October following. The officers who were regimentally senior in rank had liberty granted to join the first battalion in India.

The first battalion joined the army under Major-General Sir Hector Munro assembled at St. Thomas's Mount, near Madras, in July, 1780. This force amounted to 5,209 men, and, with the exception of one battalion of the company's European troops, and the grenadiers of another, and eight hundred Highlanders, consisted of native troops.

General Munro, with the view of joining Colonel Baillie, who had a force of nearly three thousand men under him, marched for Conjeveram, where he arrived on the twenty-ninth of August. Colonel Baillie reached Perambaucum, fifteen miles from General Munro's position, on the sixth of September, where he was attacked by Tippoo Saib, whom, after a contest of several hours, he repulsed. Strange to say, the armies of Munro and Baillie, though within a few hours' march of each other, made no effort to unite, and two days after the battle Colonel Baillie sent notice to General Munro to push forward with the main body, as, from the loss he had lately sustained, he was unable to advance in the face of an enemy who was so superior in numbers. After an unaccountable delay of three days the general sent forward the flank companies of the 73d Highlanders under Captains David Baird and the Honourable John Lindsay, two companies of European grenadiers, and eleven companies of seapoys, all under the command of Colonel Fletcher, and by taking a circuitous route, they were enabled to form a junction with the corps of Colonel Baillie without opposition.

Reinforced by this detachment Colonel Baillie set out to join Munro on the evening of the ninth of September, but he had not proceeded above a mile when he fell in with the piquets of Hyder Ali's army. An irregular fire commenced, which was kept up by both parties for several miles. About midnight Colonel Baillie halted and lay on his arms all night without being disturbed by the enemy. He continued his march next morning without opposition, and, after proceeding two miles, entered a jungle. The sultan had concentrated his army about this spot, and on the preceding day had raised three batteries, one in the centre of the grove, and one on each flank. No sooner had Colonel Baillie advanced into the jungle than a heavy and destructive fire was opened upon him from fifty-seven pieces of cannon from the batteries and field-artillery. The march was in the form of a square, with the sick and the baggage and ammunition in the centre, and though the detachment was assailed on all sides by an immense force, the enemy, after a desperate conflict of three hours' duration, were driven back at every point. Thus repulsed, "Hyder determined to retreat; and a rapid movement which Baillie made from the centre appeared to have decided the day. Orders were given to Colonel Lally, a French officer in the service of the sultan, to draw off his men, and to the cavalry to cover the retreat, when in that instant two explosions were perceived in the English line, which laid open one entire face of their column, destroyed their artillery, and threw the whole into irreparable confusion!" This occurrence revived the hopes of Hyder, whose cavalry charged in separate squadrons, whilst bodies of infantry poured in volleys of musketry; but they were gallantly repelled in every attack. Reduced at last to little more than four hundred men, Colonel Baillie formed these remains

of his army into a square on a small eminence. In this situation, after two-thirds of the number had been killed or disabled, the officers with their swords, and the soldiers with their bayonets, repulsed thirteen charges; but being borne down by fresh bodies of horse, Colonel Baillie, to save the lives of the few brave men who survived, displayed a flag of truce. Quarter was promised, but no sooner had the troops laid down their arms than they were attacked with a savage fury by the enemy; but, by the humane interference of the French officers, many lives were saved. One of these officers in a description of the battle says, "Too great encomiums cannot be bestowed on the English commander and his troops, for in the whole of this trying conflict they preserved a coolness of manœuvre which would have done honour to any troops in the world. Raked by the fire of an immense artillery, the greatest part of the action within grape-shot distance, attacked on all sides by not less than twenty-five thousand horse and thirty battalions of seapoys, besides Hyder's European troops, the English column stood firm, and repulsed every charge with great slaughter; the horse driven back on the infantry, the right of our line began to give way, though composed of the best troops in the Mysore army."

In this destructive action the flank companies of the Highlanders had Lieutenants Geddes Mackenzie, and William Gun, Volunteer Forbes, three sergeants, and eighty-two rank and file killed; and Captain David Baird, Lieutenants the Honourable John Lindsay, Philip Melville, Hugh Cuthbert, four sergeants, four drummers, and ninety-two rank and file wounded. All these, with twenty-three who escaped without wounds, were thrown into a dungeon by Hyder Ali, and were treated with such barbarity that only thirty

of the soldiers survived, and of these few were afterward fit for service.

Some time after the battle of Conjeveram, Lord Macleod took shipping for England, having, it is said, differed in opinion with General Munro on the subject of his movements, particularly those preceding Colonel Baillie's disaster. He was succeeded in the command of the 73d by Colonel James Crawford, who, with the regiment now reduced to five hundred men, joined the army under Sir Eyre Coote on the morning of the first of July, 1781, when about to attack the enemy at Porto Novo.

General Coote's army did not exceed eight thousand men, of which the 73d was the only British regiment. The force under Hyder Ali consisted of twenty-five battalions of infantry, four hundred Europeans, between forty and fifty thousand horse, and above one hundred thousand matchlock men, peons, and polygars, with forty-seven pieces of cannon. Notwithstanding this immense disparity of force Sir Eyre Coote determined to attack Hyder, and, accordingly, drew up his army in two lines, the first commanded by Major-General H. Munro, and the second by Major-General James Stuart. A plain divided the two armies, beyond which the enemy were drawn up on a ground strengthened by front and flanking redoubts and batteries. General Coote advanced to the attack at nine o'clock, and, after a contest of eight hours, the enemy were forced from all their entrenchments, and compelled to retire.

After a variety of movements, both armies again met near Perambaucum, the spot so fatal to Colonel Baillie's detachment. Hyder Ali, in anticipation of an attack, had taken up a strong position on ground intersected by deep water courses and ravines. The British commander formed his line of battle under a heavy fire,

which the troops bore with firmness. An obstinate contest took place, which lasted from nine in the morning till sunset. Hyder then abandoned his position, leaving General Coote master of the field of battle. The loss of the British was upwards of four hundred killed and wounded; almost all native troops.

Colonel Crawford having become second in command, in consequence of the departure of General Munro for England, and the disabling of General Stuart in the last-mentioned action, Captain Shaw assumed the command of the 73d regiment. It continued attached to General Coote's army, and was present at the battles of Sholungar on the twenty-seventh of September, 1781, and of Arnee on the second of June, 1782.

Having obtained reinforcements from England, General Stuart, who had recovered from his wounds, and succeeded to the command of the army on the death of General Coote, who died in April, 1783, resolved to attack Cuddalore, the garrison of which had also obtained considerable additions from the Isle of France. General Stuart accordingly appeared before the place on the sixth of June, 1783, and as M. Bussy, who commanded the garrison, was active in increasing his means of defence, he determined to make a speedy attack, and fixed the morning of the thirteenth for that purpose. The firing of three guns from a hill was to be the signal for a simultaneous assault at three different points; but in consequence of the noise of the cannonade which was immediately opened, the signals were not distinguished, and the attacks were not made at the same time. The enemy were thus enabled to direct their whole forces against each successive attack, and the result was, that one of the divisions was driven back. In the ardour of the pursuit, the besieged evacuated their redoubts, which were instantly taken possession of by

Lieutenant-Colonel Cathcart with the grenadiers, and Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart "with the precious remains of the 73d regiment." Though Colonel Stuart's party were forced to retire from the more advanced posts, yet as they retained possession of the principal redoubts, the advantage already was on the side of the British. In the belief that the French would retire from all their advanced posts during the night, General Stuart did not attempt to carry them. This expectation was realized. In this affair the 73d had Captains Alexander Mackenzie, and the Honourable James Lindsay, Lieutenants Simon Mackenzie and James Trail, four sergeants and eighty rank and file killed; and Captain John Hamilton, Lieutenants Charles Gorrie, David Rannie, John Sinclair, James Duncan, and George Sutherland, five sergeants, and 107 rank and file wounded. The casualties of the enemy exceeded a thousand men.

With the aid of 2,400 men from the fleet, under Admiral Suffrein, Bussy made a spirited sortie on the twenty-fifth of June, but was driven back with great loss. Hostilities terminated on the first of July, in consequence of accounts of the signature of preliminaries of peace between Great Britain and France having been received. The army returned to St. Thomas's Mount at the conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace, in March, 1784.

In consequence of the arrangements made when the second battalion was reduced, the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel George Mackenzie, and some other officers of that corps, joined the regiment in 1785. Next year the number of the regiment was changed to the 71st, on which occasion it received new colours. The same year the corps sustained a heavy loss by the death of Colonel Mackenzie, when Captain (afterward General

Sir David) Baird was appointed major. Lord Macleod died in 1789, and was succeeded in the colonelcy by the Honourable Major-General William Gordon. The strength of the regiment was at this time about eight hundred men, which had been kept up to that number by occasional detachments from Scotland.

The war between Tippoo Saib and the East India Company, which broke out in 1790, brought the regiment again into active service. In May of that year, the 71st and Seaforth's Highlanders (the 72d) joined a large army assembled at Trinchinopoly, the command of which was assumed by Major-General Meadows. The right wing was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel James Stuart, and the left by Lieutenant-Colonel Bridges, the two Highland regiments forming the second brigade. In the campaign against Tippoo, the 71st followed all the movements of the army. The flank companies were employed in the attack on Dundegul, and the regiment was, after the capture of that place, engaged in the siege of Palacatcherry.

Lord Cornwallis joined the army early in 1791 as commander-in-chief, and, after various movements, encamped close to Bangalore on the fifth of March. He made an assault on the twenty-first, and carried the place with little loss. The attack was led by the flank companies, including those of the 71st, all under the command of the Honourable John Lindsay and Captain (now Lieutenant-General) James Robertson, son of the late Principal Robertson, the historian.

Having obtained a reinforcement of ten thousand well-mounted native cavalry, and some European troops from the Carnatic, Lord Cornwallis advanced upon Seringapatam, and on the thirteenth of May came within sight of the enemy, drawn up a few miles from the town, having the river on their right, and the heights

of Carrighaut on their left. On the fifteenth the enemy were forced from a strong position, and driven across the river into the island on which the capital stands. In this affair the 71st had Lieutenant Roderick Mackenzie, and seven rank and file killed; and Ensign (afterward Lieutenant-Colonel) Charles Stewart, and seventy-four rank and file wounded.

The advanced state of the season, and other unfavourable circumstances operating against a siege, Lord Cornwallis retired to Bangalore. From this place he detached Major Gowdie to attack Nundydroog, a strong fortified granite rock of great height. Except on one side this strength was inaccessible, and care had been taken to strengthen that part by a double line of ramparts, and an outwork covered the gate by a flanking fire. Notwithstanding its great elevation and very steep ascent, Nundydroog could still be approached, but it required immense labour to render the approaches available. After fourteen days' intense application, the besiegers succeeded in dragging up some guns, and erecting batteries on the face of a craggy precipice, from which they made two breaches, one on the reëntering angle of the outwork, and the other in the curtain of the outer wall.

Moving with his whole army towards Nundydroog, on the eighteenth of October, Lord Cornwallis made preparations for storming the place. An assault by night having been determined upon, Lieutenant Hugh Mackenzie (afterward paymaster of the 71st), with twenty grenadiers of the 36th and 71st regiments, was to lead the attack on the right; and Lieutenant Moore, with twenty light infantry, and the two flank companies of the same regiment, under Lieutenants Duncan and Kenneth Mackenzie, was to lead the left. The whole was under the command of Captain (now Lieutenant-

General) James Robertson, supported by Captain (afterward Major-General) Burns, with the grenadiers, and Captain Hartley with the light infantry of the 36th regiment. Whilst waiting the signal to advance, one of the soldiers whispered something about a mine. General Meadows, overhearing the observation, took advantage of the circumstance, by intimating that there was a mine, but it was "a mine of gold." This remark was not thrown away upon the troops.

Apprehensive of an assault, the enemy had provided themselves with huge masses of granite, to hurl down upon the besiegers when they should attempt to ascend the rock. The assault was made on the morning of the nineteenth of October, in a clear moonlight, and in spite of every obstacle the assailants effected a lodgment within one hundred yards of the breach. Driven from the outward rocks, the enemy attempted to barricade the gate of the inner rampart; but it was soon forced, and the place carried with the loss of thirty men amongst the native troops killed and wounded, principally from the stones which were rolled down the rock.

Encouraged by this success, Lord Cornwallis next laid siege to Savendroog, the strongest rock in the Mysore, and hitherto deemed impregnable. This strength was considerably higher than Nundydroog, and was separated by a chasm into two parts at the top, on each of which parts was a fort, independent of each other. The arduous duty of reducing this stronghold was entrusted to Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart, who had already distinguished himself in other enterprises. Some of the outworks were battered preparatory to an assault which was fixed for the twenty-first of December. Accordingly, in the morning of that day, the flank companies of the 52d, the two Highland regiments and the 76th, were assembled under the command of Lieutenant-

Colonel Nisbet of the 52d, and at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the party advanced to the assault to the air of "Britons Strike Home," performed by the band of the 52d regiment. The assailants then ascended the rock, clambering up a precipice which was so perpendicular, that after the capture of the place the men were afraid to descend. The citadel on the eastern top was soon carried, and eventually the whole of the rock, the assailants losing only two men. This success was soon followed by the capture of all the other strongholds in the Mysore.

Bent upon the capture of the sultan's capital, the possession of which would, it was supposed, finish the war, Lord Cornwallis put his army in motion for Seringapatam, in the month of January, 1792, of which place he came in sight on the fourth of February. On the evening of the sixth he formed his army into three columns; the right column consisting of the 36th and 76th regiments, being under the command of General Meadows, the centre one, consisting of the 52d, and 71st, and 74th Highland regiments, under Lord Cornwallis, with Lieutenant-Colonels James Stuart, and the Honourable John Knox, and the left column, being the 72d Highland regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell. The native troops were divided in proportion to each column. General Meadows was to penetrate the enemy's left, after which he was to attempt to open and preserve the communication with Lord Cornwallis's division, by directing all his efforts towards the centre. Part of the centre division, under Colonel Stuart, was to pierce through the centre of the enemy's camp, and attack the works on the island, whilst Colonel Maxwell with the left wing was directed to force the works on Carrighaut Hill, and descending thence to turn the right of the main division, and unite with Colonel

Stuart. The three columns began to move at eight o'clock in the evening. The head of the centre column, led by the flank companies of each regiment, after twice crossing the Lockary, which covered the right wing of the enemy, came in contact with their first line, which was instantly driven across the north branch of the Cavery, at the foot of the glacis of the fort of Seringapatam. Captain Lindsay, with the grenadiers of the 71st, attempted to push into the body of the place, but was prevented by the raising of the drawbridge a few minutes before he advanced. He was here joined by some grenadiers and light infantry of the 52d and 76th regiments. With this united force he pushed down to the Loll Bang, where he was fiercely attacked by a body of the enemy, whom he quickly drove back with the bayonet. His numbers were soon afterward increased by the grenadier company of the 74th, when he attempted to force his way into the Pettah (or town), but was opposed by such overwhelming numbers that he did not succeed. He then took post in a small redoubt, where he maintained himself till morning, when he moved to the north bank of the river, and joined Lieutenant-Colonels Knox and Baird, and the troops who formed the left of the attack. During these operations the battalion companies of the 52d, 71st, and 72d regiments forced their way across the river to the island, overpowering all that opposed them. At this moment, Captain Archdeacon, commanding a battalion of Bengal seapoys, was killed. This threw the corps into some confusion, and caused it to fall back on the 71st, at the moment when Major Dalrymple was preparing to attack the sultan's redoubt, and thus impeded his movements. However, the redoubt was attacked, and instantly carried. The command was given to Captain Sibbald, who had led the attack with his company of the 71st.

The animating example and courage of this officer made the men equally irresistible in attack, and firm in the defence of the post they had gained. The enemy made several vain attempts to retake it. In one of these the brave Captain Sibbald was killed. Out of compliment to this officer, the commander-in-chief changed the name from Sultan's to Sibbald's redoubt. In this obstinate defence the men had consumed their ammunition, when, by a fortunate circumstance, two loaded oxen of the enemy, frightened by the firing, broke loose from their drivers, and taking shelter in the ditch of this redoubt, afforded an ample and seasonable supply. The command of this post was assumed by Major Kelly of the 74th regiment, who had gone up with orders from the commander-in-chief, and remained there after the death of Captain Sibbald. The sultan seemed determined to recover this redoubt distinguished by his own name, and directed the French European troops to attack it. But they met with no better success than the former, notwithstanding their superior discipline.

The loss of the enemy in this affair was estimated at four thousand men and eighty pieces of cannon. That on the side of the assailants was 535 men killed and wounded. Of the 71st, Captain Sibbald and Lieutenant Baine, two sergeants, and thirty-four rank and file were killed; and Ensigns Duncan Mackenzie, and William Baillie, three sergeants, and sixty-seven rank and file wounded.

On the ninth of February Major-General Robert Abercromby, with the army from Bombay, consisting of the 73d and 75th Highland, and 77th, besides some native regiments, joined the besieging army. Operations for the siege were begun the same day; but nothing particular occurred till the eighteenth, when Major Dalrymple, to cover the opening of the trenches,

crossed the Cavery at nine o'clock at night, and surprised and routed a camp of Tippoo's horse. During the three following days traverses were finished; and on the twenty-second, the enemy, after a warm contest, were defeated by a part of the Bombay army under General Abercromby. This was the last effort of the sultan, who sued for peace, and obtained it at the expense of nearly one-half of his dominions, which he ceded to the East India Company.

On the termination of the war, the 71st, now under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel David Baird, was marched to the neighbourhood of Trinchinopoly, where they remained till the breaking out of the war with France, in 1793. The flank companies were employed on the expedition against Ceylon, in the month of August that year, in which enterprise Captain Gordon was severely wounded, and eleven men were killed and wounded. In October, 1797, in consequence of orders, all the soldiers fit for service, amounting to 560 men, were drafted into the 73d and 74th regiments; those unfit for service, along with the officers and non-commissioned officers, sailed from Madras for England on the seventeenth of October, and arrived in the Thames in August, 1798. The regiment was then removed to Leith, and thence to Stirling, after an absence of nearly eighteen years from Scotland.

The regiment remained in Scotland till June, 1800, when it was removed to Ireland, having previously received an accession of six hundred volunteers from the Scotch fencible regiments. This augmented the corps to eight hundred men, of whom six hundred were Highlanders. A second battalion was ordered to be embodied at Dumbarton, in the year 1804. From the success with which the recruiting for this battalion was carried on in Glasgow, and the favour shown to the men by the inhab-

itants, the corps acquired the name of the "Glasgow Highland Light Infantry."

The first battalion sailed from Cork on the fifth of August, 1805, on the expedition against the Cape of Good Hope, of which an account will be found under the head of the Sutherland regiment, and reached its destination on the fourth of January, 1806. On this service the regiment had six rank and file killed, and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Campbell, two sergeants, and sixty-seven rank and file wounded.

This enterprise was followed by that against Buenos Ayres, of which the 71st formed the chief force. The expedition reached the Rio de la Plata on the eighth of June, and passing Monte Video, anchored opposite to the city of Buenos Ayres, on the twenty-fourth. The troops and the marines of the fleet, amounting together to about fourteen hundred men, landed the following evening without opposition. Next forenoon the troops moved forward to the village of Reduction in full view of the enemy, who were posted on the brow of an adjoining eminence. The enemy, after firing a few shots, retired into the city. On the twenty-seventh the passage of Rio Chuelo was forced, and the result was, that the city surrendered. The Spaniards, however, soon attempted to regain what they had lost, and in the beginning of August collected a force of fifteen hundred men in the neighbourhood; but these were attacked and dispersed by General Beresford, with a detachment of the 71st, and the corps of St. Helena. Notwithstanding their dispersion, however, these troops collected again, and on the tenth of August surprised and cut off a sergeant's guard. Next day the town was abandoned by the British, who retired to the fort, and seeing no prospect of relief, capitulated the same evening. The 71st lost in this expedition Lieutenant Mitchell and En-

sign Lucas, and ninety-one non-commissioned officers and privates were killed and wounded.

After the capitulation of General Whitelock's army, the regiment was restored to liberty, and embarked with the troops for England. The regiment landed in Ireland, and marched to Middleton, and afterward to Cork, where it received a reinforcement of two hundred men from the second battalion, by which the effective force was increased to 920 men. On the twenty-first of April, 1808, the regiment received new colours instead of those they had surrendered at Buenos Ayres. The colours were presented by General Floyd, a veteran officer, who had frequently witnessed the gallantry of the 71st in India. He made an eloquent speech on the occasion, the conclusion of which was as follows: "You now stand on this parade in defiance of the allurements held out to base desertion. You are endeared to the army and to your country. You ensure the esteem of all true soldiers and good men. It has been my good fortune to have witnessed, in a remote part of the world, the early glories of the 71st regiment in the field, and it is with great satisfaction I now meet you again with replenished ranks, arms in your hands, and stout hearts in your bosoms. Look forward, officers and soldiers, to the achievement of new honours, and the acquirement of fresh fame. Officers, be the friends and guardians of these brave men committed to your charge. Soldiers, give your confidence to your officers, — they have shared with you the chances of war, — they have bled along with you. Preserve your regiment's reputation in the field, early and gloriously gained, and be like them regular in quarters. I present the royal colours. This is the king's standard. I now present your regimental colours. May honour and victory ever attend you!"

The expectations which General Floyd had formed of the regiment were soon to be realized. In the month of June the regiment embarked at Cork for Portugal, in the expedition under Sir Arthur Wellesley, which sailed on the thirteenth of July. The fleet arrived in Mondego Bay on the twenty-ninth, and the forces, amounting to ten thousand men, landed early in August. In a few days a body of five thousand troops from Gibraltar joined the army. General Wellesley made a forward movement towards Lisbon, on the ninth of August, and was joined on the eleventh by six thousand Portuguese, but being unprovided with provisions and military stores he could not proceed. The British army reached Caldas on the fourteenth, — four companies of the 60th and Rifle corps pushing forward to the village of Brilos, then in possession of the enemy. An affair of advanced posts now took place, which ended in the occupation of the village by the British. This was the commencement of a series of battles and operations which raised the military fame of Great Britain to the highest pitch, overtopping all the glories of Marlborough's campaigns. Lieutenant Bunbury and a few privates of the Rifle corps were killed on this occasion.

The French, under General Laborde, amounting to upwards of five thousand men, took up a position on the heights of Roleia, whither they were followed by the British on the seventeenth. These heights were steep and very difficult of access, with only a narrow path leading to the summit; but notwithstanding the almost insuperable obstacles which presented themselves, the position was carried by the British, after a gallant resistance by the French, who were forced to retreat at all points. The 71st was not engaged, having been sent round the hill to turn the enemy's flank.

The regiment acted a conspicuous part in the battle

of Vimiera, which took place on the twenty-first of August. Along with the 36th and 40th regiments the 71st formed, on that occasion, Major-General R. Ferguson's brigade, which, in the advance, took six pieces of cannon, and a considerable number of prisoners. The 71st regiment served in all the Peninsular campaigns with great honour; but now its history as a Highland regiment necessarily closes, as about this time it ceased to receive any more recruits from the Highlands, and the regiment exchanged its old designation for that of the Glasgow Light Infantry, and adopted a new uniform.

ARGYLE HIGHLANDERS

OR SEVENTY-FOURTH REGIMENT

1778

This regiment was raised by Colonel John Campbell of Barbreck, who had served as captain and major of Fraser's Highlanders in the Seven Years' War, to whom letters of service were granted in December, 1777. The regiment was completed in May, 1778, when it was inspected at Glasgow by General Skene. The lower orders in Argyleshire, from their proximity to the sea, being more addicted to the naval than to the land service, did not embrace the military profession with the same alacrity as the other Highlanders; and the result was, that only 590 Highlanders entered this regiment. The remainder were Lowlanders recruited in Glasgow and the western districts of Scotland. With the exception of four, all the officers were Highlanders, of whom three field-officers, six captains, and fourteen subalterns were of the name of Campbell.

The 74th embarked at Greenock in August, 1778, for Halifax, in Nova Scotia, where they were garrisoned

along with the Edinburgh regiment (the 80th) and the Duke of Hamilton's (the 82d), all under the command of Brigadier-General Francis Maclean. In spring, 1779, the Grenadier company, commanded by Captain Ludovick Colquhoun of Luss, and the Light company by Captain Campbell of Balnabie, were sent to New York, and joined the army immediately before the siege of Charleston.

The battalion companies, with a detachment of the 82d regiment, under the command of Brigadier-General Maclean, embarked at Halifax in June of the same year, and took possession of Penobscot. With the view of establishing himself there, the brigadier proceeded to erect defences; but before these were completed, a hostile fleet from Boston, with two thousand troops on board, under Brigadier-General Lovel, appeared in the bay, and on the twenty-eighth of July effected a landing on a peninsula, where the British were erecting a fort. The enemy immediately began to erect batteries for a siege; but their operations met with frequent interruption from parties who sallied from the fort. Meanwhile General Maclean proceeded with his works, and not only kept the enemy in complete check, but preserved the communication with the shipping, which they endeavoured to cut off. Both parties kept skirmishing till the thirteenth of August, on the morning of which day Commodore Sir George Collier entered the bay with a fleet to relieve the brigadier. The enemy immediately raised the siege, and retired to their ships, but a part only were able to escape. The remainder, along with the sailors of some of their ships which had grounded, formed themselves into a body, and attempted to penetrate through the woods; but running short of provisions, they afterward quarrelled amongst themselves, and fired on each other till all their ammunition was

spent. After upwards of sixty had been killed and wounded in this affray, the rest dispersed in the woods, where numbers perished. In this expedition, the 74th had two sergeants and fourteen privates killed, and seventeen rank and file wounded.

General Maclean returned to Halifax with the detachment of the 82d, leaving Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Campbell of Monzie with the 74th at Penobscot, where they remained till the termination of hostilities, when they embarked for England. They landed at Portsmouth, whence they marched for Stirling, and, after being joined by the flank companies, were reduced in the autumn of 1783.

MACDONALD'S HIGHLANDERS

OR SEVENTY-SIXTH REGIMENT
1778

Letters of service were granted in December, 1777, to Lord Macdonald, to raise a regiment in the Highlands and isles, to which corps his lordship was offered the command; but he declined the commission, and at his recommendation, Major John Macdonell of Lochgarry was appointed lieutenant-colonel commandant of the regiment. Lord Macdonald, however, exerted his influence in the formation of the corps, and as a good selection of officers was made from the families of the Macdonalds of Glenco, Morer, Boisdale, and others of his own clan, and likewise from those of other clans, as Mackinnon, Fraser of Culduthel, Cameron of Callart, etc., a body of 750 Highlanders was soon raised. Nearly two hundred men were raised in the Lowlands by Captains Cunningham of Craigends, and Montgomery Cunningham, and Lieutenant Samuel Graham. These

were kept together in two companies, and another body of men, principally raised in Ireland by Captain Bruce, formed a third company, all of which were kept perfectly distinct from the Highlanders. The regiment was inspected at Inverness in March, 1788, by General Skene, and amounted to 1,086 men, including non-commissioned officers and drummers.

The regiment was then quartered in Fort George, where it remained twelve months under the command of Major Donaldson, who, from his long experience, was well calculated to train them properly.

Being removed to Perth in March, 1779, the regiment was again reviewed by General Skene, on the tenth, and being reported complete, was ordered to march to Burntisland for the purpose of embarking for America. Shortly after their arrival at Burntisland, numbers of the Highlanders were observed in parties in earnest conversation together. The cause of this consultation was soon known. Each company, on the evening of the third day, gave in a written statement, complaining of non-performance of promises, of their bounty-money being withheld, etc., and accompanied by a declaration that, till their grievances were redressed, they would not embark. They demanded that Lord Macdonald should be sent for to see justice done to them. No satisfactory answer having been returned within the time expected, the Highlanders marched off in a body, and took possession of a hill above Burntisland. To show that these men had no other end in view but justice, they refused to allow some young soldiers, who had joined them in a frolic, to remain with them, telling them that as they had no ground of complaint, they ought not to disobey orders.

The Highlanders remained for several days on the hill without offering the least violence, and sent in parties

regularly to the town for provisions, for which they paid punctually. During this interval, Major Donaldson, assisted by Lieutenant David Barclay, the paymaster, investigated the claims of the men, and ascertained that they were well-founded, and Lord Macdonald having arrived, his lordship and the major advanced the money, and paid off every demand at their own risk. On a subsequent investigation of the individual claims, when sent to the Isle of Skye, it was ascertained that all, without exception, were found to be just, a circumstance as honourable to the claimants as it was disgraceful to those who had attempted to overreach them.

This disagreeable affair being fortunately settled, the regiment embarked on the seventeenth of March; but before their departure, all the men of Skye and Uist sent the money they had received home to their families and friends. Major Donaldson being unable to accompany the regiment on account of the delicate state of his health, and Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell having been taken prisoner on his passage from America, where he had been serving with Fraser's Highlanders, the command of the regiment devolved on Major Lord Berridale.

The transports, with the 76th on board, touched at Portsmouth, and whilst lying at Spithead, the regiment was ordered to the relief of Jersey, which the enemy had attacked; but before reaching the island the French had been repulsed. They then proceeded on the voyage, and landed at New York in August. The flank companies were then attached to the battalion, composed of the flank companies of the other regiments, and the battalion companies were quartered between New York and Staten Island. In February, 1781, these companies embarked for Virginia with a detachment of the army, commanded by Major-General Phillips. The Light

company, being in the second battalion of light infantry, also formed a part of the expedition.

Lord Berridale, who had, by the death of his father this year, become Earl of Caithness, having been severely wounded at the siege of Charleston, returned to Scotland, and was succeeded in the command of the regiment by the Hon. Major Needham, the late Earl of Kilmorey, who had purchased Major Donaldson's commission.

General Phillips landed at Portsmouth, in Virginia, in March, and having joined the detachment under General Arnold, the united detachments formed a junction with the army of Lord Cornwallis in May. The Macdonald Highlanders, on meeting with men who had braved the dangers of the field, considered themselves as an inferior race, and sighed for an opportunity of putting themselves on an equality with their companions in arms, and they did not wait long.

The late celebrated Marquis de la Fayette, anxious to distinguish himself in the cause which he had espoused, determined to attack Lord Cornwallis's army, and in pursuance of this intention, pushed forward a strong corps, which forced the British piquets. He then formed his line, and a warm contest immediately began, the weight of which, on the side of the British, was sustained by the brigade of Colonel Thomas Dundas, consisting of the 76th and 80th regiments. These corps, which were on the left, were drawn up on an open field, whilst the right of the line was covered with woods. Coming up in the rear of the 76th, Lord Cornwallis gave the word to charge, which being responded to by the Highlanders, they rushed forward with great impetuosity upon the enemy, who, unable to stand the shock, turned their backs and fled, leaving their cannon and three hundred men, killed and wounded, behind them.

After the surrender of Lord Cornwallis's army, the 76th was marched in detachments as prisoners to different parts of Virginia. During their confinement, many attempts were made by their emigrant countrymen, as well as by the Americans, to induce them to join the cause of American independence; but not one of them could be induced by any consideration to renounce his allegiance.

The regiment, on its return to Scotland, was disbanded in March, 1784, at Stirling castle.

ATHOLE HIGHLANDERS

OR SEVENTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT

1778

On the application of the then young Duke of Athole, government granted him authority to raise a regiment of a thousand men for the service of the state, with power to appoint officers. The command of this corps was given to Colonel James Murray, son of Lord George Murray.

The Athole Highlanders were embodied at Perth, and in June, 1778, were marched to Port Patrick, and embarked for Ireland, where they remained during the war. They were thus deprived of an opportunity of distinguishing themselves in the field; but their presence in Ireland was attended with this advantage, that they supplied the place of other troops, who would probably have been less exemplary in their conduct amongst a people whose passions were excited by misgovernment.

The terms on which the men had enlisted were to serve for three years, or during the war. On the con-

clusion of hostilities, they, of course, expected to be disbanded; but instead of this they were transported to England, and marched to Portsmouth for embarkation to the East Indies. On the march they were made acquainted with the intentions of government; and so far from objecting to a continuance of their service, they showed no disinclination to embark, and when they first saw the fleet at Spithead, as they crossed Portsdown hill, they pulled off their bonnets, and gave three cheers for a brush with Hyder Ali. They had scarcely, however, taken up their quarters at Portsmouth, when the face of matters changed. The minds of the men, it is said, were wrought upon by emissaries from London, who represented the unfaithfulness of government in sending them abroad after the term of their service had expired. It was even insinuated that they had been sold to the East India company at a certain sum per man, and that the officers were to divide the money amongst themselves. These base misrepresentations had their intended effect, and the result was that the soldiers resolved not to embark. The authority of the officers was despised; and after a scene of uproar and confusion, which lasted several days, during which the Highlanders attempted to obtain possession of the main-guard and garrison parade, the order to embark was countermanded by government.

One account of this affair, dated at Portsmouth, and published in February, 1783, contains the following details: "The Duke of Athole, his uncle, Major-General Murray, and Lord George Lennox have been down here, but the Athole Highlanders are still determined not to go to the East Indies. They have put up their arms and ammunition into one of the magazines, and placed a very strong guard over them, whilst the rest of the regiment sleep and refresh themselves. They

come regularly and quietly to the grand parade, very cleanly dressed, twice a day, their adjutant and other officers parading with them. One day it was proposed to turn the great guns on the rampart of the Highlanders; but this scheme was soon overruled. Another time it was suggested to send for some marching regiments quartered near the place, upon which the Highlanders drew up the drawbridges, and placed sentinels at them."

"You may be assured," says another account, "I have had my perplexities since the mutiny commenced in the 77th regiment; but I must do the men the justice to confess, that excepting three or four drunken fellows, whose impudence to their officers could only be equalled by their brutality, the whole regiment have conducted themselves with a regularity that is surprising; for what might not have been expected from upwards of one thousand men let loose from all restraint? Matters would never have been carried to the point they have, but for the interference of some busy people, who love to be fishing in troubled waters. The men have opened a subscription for the relief of the widow of the poor invalid, for whose death they express the greatest regret. On their being informed that two or three regiments were coming to force them to embark, they flew to their arms, and followed their comrade leaders through the town, with a fixed determination to give them battle; but on finding the report to be false, they returned in the same order to their quarters. The regiment is not to go to the East Indies contrary to their instructions, which has satisfied them, but will be attended with disagreeable consequences to the service; and since the debates in the House of Commons on the subject, I should not wonder if every man intended for foreign service refused going, for the reasons then

given, which you may depend on it, they are now well acquainted with."

Mr. Eden, afterward Lord Auckland, secretary for Ireland, in the parliamentary debates on the mutiny, bore honourable testimony to the exemplary conduct of the regiment in Ireland: — "He had happened," he said, "to have the 77th regiment immediately under his observation during sixteen months of their garrison duty in Dublin, and though it was not the most agreeable duty in the service, he must say that their conduct was most exemplary. Their officers were not only men of gentlemanly character, but peculiarly attentive to regimental discipline. He having once, upon the sudden alarm of invasion, sent an order for the immediate march of this regiment to Cork, they showed their alacrity by marching at an hour's notice, and completed their march with a despatch beyond any instance in modern times, and this too without leaving a single soldier behind."

This unfair and unworthy attempt on the part of government created a just distrust of its integrity, and had a most pernicious effect on its subsequent endeavours to raise men in the Highlands. Alluding to this unfortunate affair, General Stewart observes, that, "if government had offered a small bounty when the Athole Highlanders were required to embark, there can be little doubt they would have obeyed their orders, and embarked as cheerfully as they marched into Portsmouth."

The fault resting entirely with government, it wisely abstained from pushing matters farther by bringing any of the men to trial. The regiment was immediately marched to Berwick, where it was disbanded in April, 1783, in terms of the original agreement.

SEAFORTH'S HIGHLANDERS

FORMERLY THE SEVENTY-EIGHTH, NOW THE SEVENTY-SECOND REGIMENT

1778

KENNETH MACKENZIE, grandson of the Earl of Seaforth, whose estate and title were forfeited in consequence of his concern in the rebellion of 1715, having purchased the family property from the Crown, was created an Irish peer, by the title of Lord Viscount Fortrose. In the year 1771, government restored to him the family title of Earl of Seaforth. To evince his gratitude for this magnanimous act, the earl, in the year 1778, offered to raise a regiment on his estate for general service. This offer being accepted of by his Majesty, a corps of 1,130 men was speedily raised principally by gentlemen of the name of Mackenzie, his lordship's clan.

Of these, about nine hundred were Highlanders, five hundred of whom were raised upon Lord Seaforth's own estate, and the remainder upon the estates of the Mackenzies of Scatwell, Kilcoy, Applecross, and Redcastle, all of whom had sons or brothers in the regiment. The remainder were raised in the Lowlands, of whom forty-three were English and Irish.

The regiment was embodied at Elgin in May, 1778, and was inspected by General Skene, when it was found so effective, that not one man was rejected. In the month of August the regiment marched to Leith for embarkation to the East Indies; but they had not been quartered long in that town when symptoms of disaffection began to appear among them. They complained of an infringement of their engagements, and

that part of their pay and bounty was in arrear. Being wrought upon by some emissaries, the men refused to embark, and, marching out of Leith with pipes playing, and two plaids fixed on poles instead of colours, took up a position on Arthur's seat, in the immediate vicinity of Edinburgh, on which they remained several days, during which time they were amply supplied with provisions and ammunition by the inhabitants of the capital, who had espoused their quarrel. The causes of complaint having been inquired into, after much negotiation, in which the Earls of Dunmore and Seaforth, Sir James Grant of Grant, and other gentlemen connected with the Highlands, took an active and prominent part, these were removed, and the soldiers being satisfied, marched down the hill with pipes playing, with the Earls of Seaforth and Dunmore, and General Skene at their head, and returned to their quarters at Leith. From the great number of the Clan Macrea that were in the regiment, the mutiny was called "The affair of the Macreas."

At Leith the regiment embarked with the greatest cheerfulness, accompanied by their colonel, the Earl of Seaforth. The intention of sending them to India being for the present abandoned, one-half of the regiment was sent to Guernsey, and the other to Jersey. At the end of March, 1781, both divisions assembled at Portsmouth, where, on the first of May, they embarked for the East Indies, being then 1,110 strong, rank and file. Though the men were all in excellent health, they suffered so severely from the effects of the voyage and the change of food, that before reaching Madras on the second of April, 1782, 230 men had died of the scurvy, and out of the 880 that landed, only 390 were fit to carry arms. The death of Seaforth their chief, who expired before the regiment reached St. Helena, threw a damp over

the spirits of the men, and is said to have materially contributed to that prostration of mind which made them more readily the victims of disease.

As the service was pressing, such of the men as were able to march were immediately sent up the country under Major James Stuart; but many of them, being still weak from the effects of the scurvy, suffered greatly on the march. The men were sinewy and robust, and such as had escaped the scurvy were greatly injured by the violence of the sun's beams, the effects of which were not so hurtful to men of more slender habits. They joined the army of Sir Eyre Coote at Chingleput in the beginning of May; but he found them so unfit for service, that he ordered the corps into quarters, and put the few who remained healthy into the 73d or Macleod's Highlanders, the only European corps then with the army.

The health of the men gradually recovered, and in the month of October upwards of six hundred were fit for duty. The colours of the regiment were again unfolded, and in April, 1783, they joined the army under Major-General James Stuart (of the family of Torrance), destined to attack Cuddalore, of which enterprise an account has been given in the article on Lord Macleod's Highlanders. In that enterprise the 78th had Captain George Mackenzie and twenty-three rank and file killed, and three sergeants and forty-four rank and file wounded.

Notwithstanding the termination of hostilities with France, the war with Tippoo Saib was continued. Colonel Fullarton, who had marched on Cuddalore, finding he was no longer needed in that quarter, retraced his steps southward, reinforced by Seaforth's Highlanders and other troops, thus augmenting his force to upwards of thirteen thousand men. This army was

employed some months in keeping down some turbulent chiefs, and in October Colonel Fullarton marched on Palacatcherry after securing some intermediate forts. Lieutenant-Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie of the 100th regiment, who succeeded about this time to the command of the 78th, in consequence of the death of his cousin, the Earl of Seaforth, as well as to his title and estates, had intended to attack this place the preceding year; but he abandoned the attempt. For an account of this enterprise see the notice of the second battalion of the 42d. After a fatiguing march through thick woods and a broken country, Colonel Fullarton reached the place early in November, and immediately laid siege to it.

The garrison might have made a long and vigorous defence; but an event occurred which hastened the fall of Palacatcherry. The enemy having taken shelter from a shower of rain, the Hon. Captain (now General Sir Thomas) Maitland advanced unperceived with his flank corps, and drove the enemy through the first gateway, which he entered; but his progress was checked at the second, which was shut. Being immediately reinforced, he prepared to force an entrance; but the enemy, afraid of an assault, immediately surrendered.

The regiment did not long enjoy their new colonel, who died of his wounds received on board the *Ranger* sloop of war on the seventh of April, 1783, in an action with a Mahratta fleet while on his return from Bombay. He was succeeded in the command of the regiment by Major-General James Murray from the half pay of the 77th regiment.

In terms of the agreement with the 78th, which was the same with that made with the Athole Highlanders, the services of the regiment were now at an end in con-

sequence of the peace. Such of the men as were disposed to take advantage of the agreement were allowed to return to England, and such of them as were inclined to continue received the same bounty as other volunteers. Only three hundred of the men remained abroad; but the regiment was immediately increased to eight hundred by volunteers from the 100th and other regiments ordered home; and a detachment of two hundred from the north having joined the regiment in 1785, its complement was almost complete.

In consequence of the reduction of the senior regiments, the number of the corps was changed to the 72d the following year. In 1790, when the war with Tippoo commenced, the regiment having received another detachment of recruits, was upwards of a thousand men strong, inured to the climate, and highly disciplined. They were still under the command of Colonel Stuart, and formed part of the army under Major-General Meadows. The regiment, with some other troops under Colonel Stuart, was detached against Palacatcherry; but their progress was stopped by heavy rains, and they were obliged to return to headquarters. Their next service, in company with the same troops, was against Dindegul, before which they arrived on the sixteenth of August. On the summit of this rock there was a fort mounted with fourteen guns; the precipice admitted only of one point of ascent. Colonel Stuart was badly provided with means of attack; but he succeeded in making a small breach on the twentieth, and as he was short of ammunition, he resolved to attempt an assault without delay. He accordingly attacked the enemy's defences the following evening, and met with a formidable resistance. Several of the men reached the top of the breach, but were forced down in succession as they mounted by triple rows of pikes behind the

rampart. The assailants, after a vigorous effort, were repulsed with considerable loss. The enemy, afraid of another assault, surrendered next morning.

Colonel Stuart again proceeded against Palacatcherry, and on the twenty-first of September opened two batteries within five hundred yards of the place, and though the fortification had been greatly strengthened since the time when the place was taken by Colonel Fullarton, he succeeded in making a practicable breach the same day.

Preparations were made for an assault the following morning; but before daylight the enemy offered to surrender on terms which were acceded to. Leaving a garrison in the place, Colonel Stuart joined the army in the neighbourhood of Coimbatore on the fifteenth of October, after which the regiment followed all the movements of the army till the twenty-ninth of January, 1791, when Lord Cornwallis arrived and assumed the command.

The 72d was engaged along with the 71st in the second attack of Bangalore, the first attack of Seringapatam, and the attack on Sundidroog and Ootradroog. A small reconnoitring party of the 72d under Captain M'Innes, carried the last mentioned place, its commander having turned the duty assigned him into an assault. The regiment was also engaged in the second attack on Seringapatam along with the 71st and 75th regiments, and continued to act along with them down to the conclusion of the war with the sultan. By the judicious arrangements of General Murray, who had established a recruiting party at Perth, the strength of the regiment was kept up by regular supplies of recruits from Scotland from time to time.

In the year 1793, the regiment went on the expedition against Pondicherry, and formed part of the force em-

ployed in the capture of Ceylon in 1795, under Major-General James Stuart, their old commander-colonel. The regiment remained in Ceylon till 1797, when it was removed to Pondicherry. In consequence of orders received in December, the regiment, then eight hundred men strong, was drafted into the corps on that station, and the officers, non-commissioned officers and invalids, were ordered home. This was one of the last instances in the East Indies of enforcing the system of drafting and transferring soldiers without their consent, "a system," says General Stewart, "which deprived men of nearly all hopes of ever revisiting their native land, and every good soldier of the great incitement to regular conduct."

In January, 1798, the skeleton of the regiment embarked at Madras. On arriving in England they were ordered to Perth, which they reached in August under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Hugh Fraser, who had gone out to India as the third eldest captain. General Williamson had succeeded General Murray in 1794, and Major-General James Stuart was now appointed colonel in room of General Williamson.

Whilst the regiment lay at Perth, recourse was had to recruiting to supply deficiencies, but from various causes the corps did not recruit two hundred men in three years. The reduction of the Scotch Fencible regiments, however, enabled the officers to augment the ranks to nine hundred men, the number in the regiment when removed to Ireland in the year 1802. The regiment now consisted of a very efficient body of young men, possessing, it is said, "as pure and true a spirit as any corps. One-fourth of the men and officers were English and Irish, and three-fourths Scotch Highlanders; and singular as it may seem, the former were as fond of the kilt and pipes as the latter, and many of

them entered completely into the spirit of the national feeling."

The regiment was employed on the expedition under Sir David Baird against the Cape of Good Hope. In this service they had only two privates killed and Lieutenant-Colonel Colquhoun Grant, Lieutenant Alexander Chisholm, two sergeants and thirty-four privates wounded.

In terms of general orders issued in 1809, the designation of Highland and the ancient garb were altered. The uniform was the same as that of the line till 1823, when the designation of " The Duke of Albany's Highlanders " was conferred on the regiment, which again reassumed the plaid and bonnet, but with tartan trews instead of the kilt or belted plaid.

ABERDEENSHIRE HIGHLAND REGIMENT

OR EIGHTY-FIRST

1778

This regiment was raised by the Honourable Colonel William Gordon, brother of the Earl of Aberdeen, to whom letters of service were granted for that purpose in December, 1777. Of 980 men composing the regiment, 650 were from the Highlands of Aberdeenshire. The Clan Ross mustered strongly under Major Ross; when embodied it was found that there were nine men of the name of John Ross in the regiment.

The corps was marched to Stirling, whence it was removed to Ireland where the regiment continued three years. In the end of 1782, they were transported to England, and in March of the following year were embarked at Portsmouth for the East Indies immediately

after the preliminaries of peace were signed, notwithstanding the terms of their agreement, which were the same as those made with the Athole Highlanders. They however seemed satisfied with their destination, and it was not until they became acquainted with the conduct of the Athole men that they refused to proceed. Government yielded to their demand to be discharged, and they were accordingly marched to Scotland, and disbanded at Edinburgh in April, 1783. Their conduct during their existence was equally exemplary as that of the other Highland regiments.

ROYAL HIGHLAND EMIGRANT REGIMENT

OR EIGHTY-FOURTH

Two Battalions — Embodied in 1775, Regimented in 1778

First Battalion

This battalion was to be raised from the Highland emigrants in Canada, and the discharged men of the 42d, of Fraser's and Montgomery's Highlanders, who had settled in North America after the peace of 1763. Lieutenant-Colonel Alan Maclean (son of Torlish), of the late 104th Highland regiment, was appointed lieutenant-colonel commandant of the first battalion. Captain John Small, formerly of the 42d, and then of the 21st regiment, was appointed major-commandant of the second battalion, which was to be raised from emigrants and discharged Highland soldiers who had settled in Nova Scotia. Each battalion was to consist of 750 men, with officers in proportion. The commissions were dated the fourteenth of June, 1775.

Great difficulty was experienced in conveying the

recruits who had been raised in the back settlements to their respective destinations. A detachment from Carolina was obliged to relinquish an attempt to cross a bridge defended by cannon, in which Captain Macleod, its commander, and a number of the men were killed. Those who escaped reached their destination by different routes.

When assembled, the first battalion, consisting of 350 men, was detached up the river St. Lawrence, but hearing that the American General Arnold intended to enter Canada with three thousand men, Colonel Maclean returned with his battalion by forced marches, and entered Quebec on the thirteenth of November, 1776. The garrison of Quebec, previous to the arrival of Colonel Maclean, consisted only of fifty men of the fusileers, and seven hundred militia and seamen. General Arnold, who had previously crossed the river, made a spirited attempt on the night of the fourteenth, to get possession of the out-works of the city, but was repulsed with loss, and forced to retire to Point au Tremble.

Having obtained a reinforcement of troops under General Montgomery, Arnold resolved upon an assault. Accordingly, on the thirty-first of December, he advanced towards the city, and attacked it in two places, but was completely repulsed at both points. In this affair General Montgomery, who led one of the points of attack, was killed, and Arnold wounded.

Foiled in this attempt, General Arnold took up a position on the heights of Abraham, and by intercepting all supplies, reduced the garrison to great straits. He next turned the blockade into a siege, and having erected batteries, made several attempts to get possession of the lower town; but Colonel Macleod, to whom the defence of the place had been entrusted by General Guy Carleton, the commander-in-chief, defeated him

at every point. After these failures General Arnold raised the siege and evacuated Canada.

The battalion after this service was employed in various small enterprises during the war, in which they were generally successful. They remained so faithful to their trust, that notwithstanding every inducement was held out to them to join the revolutionary standard, not one native Highlander deserted. Only one man was brought to the halberts during the time they were embodied.

Second Battalion

Major Small being extremely popular with the Highlanders, was very successful in Nova Scotia, and his corps contained a greater proportion of them than the first battalion. Of ten companies which composed the second battalion, five remained in Nova Scotia and the neighbouring settlements during the war, and the other five, including the flank companies, joined the armies of General Clinton and Lord Cornwallis. The grenadier company was in the battalion which at Eutaw Springs "drove all before them," as stated in his despatches, by Colonel Alexander Stuart of the 3d regiment.

In the year 1778, the regiment, which had hitherto been known only as the Royal Highland Emigrants, was numbered the 84th, and orders were issued to augment the battalions to a thousand men each. Sir Henry Clinton was appointed colonel-in-chief. The uniform was the full Highland garb, with purse of raccoon's skin. The officers wore the broadsword and dirk, and the men a half-basket sword. At the peace the officers and men received grants of land, in the proportion of five thousand acres to a field officer, three thousand to a captain, five hundred to a subaltern, two hundred to a sergeant, and one hundred to a private soldier. The men

of the first battalion settled in Canada, and those of the second in Nova Scotia, forming a settlement which they named Douglas. Many of the officers however returned home.

FORTY-SECOND OR ROYAL HIGHLAND REGIMENT

Second Battalion

NOW THE SEVENTY-THIRD REGIMENT

1780

About this time the situation of Great Britain was extremely critical, as she had not only to sustain a war in Europe, but also to defend her vast possessions in North America and the East Indies. In this emergency government looked towards the north for aid, and although nearly thirteen thousand warriors had been drawn from the country north of the Tay, within the last eighteen months, it determined again to draw upon the Highland population, by adding a second battalion to the 42d regiment.

The following officers were appointed to the battalion:

Colonel — Lord John Murray, died in 1787, the oldest general in the army.
Lieutenant-Colonel — Norman Macleod of Macleod, died in 1801, a lieutenant-general.
Major — Patrick Graham, son of Inchbraco, died in 1781.

Captains

Hay Macdowall, son of Garthland, a lieutenant-general, who was lost on his passage from India in 1809.
James Murray, died in 1781.
John Gregor.
James Drummond, afterward Lord Perth, died in 1800.
John Macgregor, retired.
Colin Campbell, son of Glenure, retired.
Thomas Dalyell, killed at Mangalore in 1783.

MOY HALL
THE MACINTOSH

David Lindsay, retired.
John Grant, son of Glenmoriston, retired. Died in 1801.

Lieutenants

John Grant.
Alexander Macgregor of Balhaldy, died major of the 65th regiment in 1795.
Dougald Campbell, retired in 1787.
James Spens, retired lieutenant-colonel of the 73d regiment in 1798.
John Wemyss, died in 1781.
Alexander Dunbar, died in 1783.
John Oswald.
Æneas Fraser, died captain, 1784.
Alexander Maitland.
Alexander Ross, retired in 1784.

Ensigns

Charles Sutherland.
John Murray Robertson.
Alexander Macdonald.
Robert Robertson.
John Macdonald.
William White.
Charles Maclean.
John Macpherson, killed at Mangalore.

Chaplain — John Stuart, died in 1781.
Adjutant — Robert Leslie.
Quartermaster — Ken. Mackenzie, killed at Mangalore.
Surgeon — Thomas Farquharson.
Mate — Duncan Campbell.

The name of the 42d regiment was a sufficient inducement to the Highlanders to enter the service, and on the twenty-first of March, 1780, only about three months after the appointment of the officers, the battalion was raised and soon afterward embodied at Perth.

In December the regiment embarked at Queensferry, to join an expedition then fitting out at Portsmouth, against the Cape of Good Hope, under the command of Major-General William Meadows and Commodore Johnstone. The expedition sailed on the twelfth of March, 1781, and falling in with the French squadron under Admiral Suffrein at St. Jago, was there attacked by the enemy, who were repulsed. Suffrein, however, got the start of the expedition, and the commanders finding that he had reached the cape before them proceeded to

India, having previously captured a valuable convoy of Dutch East Indiamen, which had taken shelter in Saldanha Bay. As the troops had not landed, the right of the troops to a share of the prize-money was disputed by the commodore, but after a lapse of many years the objection was overruled.

The expedition, with the exception of the *Myrtle* transport, which separated from the fleet in a gale of wind off the cape, arrived at Bombay on the fifth of March, 1782, after a twelve months' voyage, and on the thirtieth of April sailed for Madras. The regiment suffered considerably on the passage from the scurvy, and from a fever caught in the island of Joanna; and on reaching Calcutta, five officers, including Major Patrick Græme, and 116 non-commissioned officers and privates had died.

Some time after the arrival of the expedition, a part of the troops, with some native corps, were detached against Palacatcherry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie Humberstone of the 100th regiment, in absence of Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod, who, being on board the *Myrtle*, had not yet arrived. The troops in this expedition, of which seven companies of the Highlanders formed a part, took the field on the second of September, 1782, and after taking several small forts on their march, arrived before Palacatcherry on the nineteenth of October. Finding the place much stronger than he expected, and ascertaining that Tippoo Saib was advancing with a large force to its relief, Colonel Humberstone retired towards Paniané, closely pursued by the enemy, and blew up the forts of Mangaracotah and Ramguree in the retreat.

At Paniané the command was assumed by Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod. The effective force was reduced by sickness to 380 Europeans, and 2,200 English and

Travancore seapoys, and, in this situation, the British commander found himself surrounded by ten thousand cavalry, and fourteen thousand infantry, including two corps of Europeans, under the French General Lally. Colonel Macleod attempted to improve by art the defences of a position strong by nature, but before his works were completed, General Lally made a spirited attack on the post on the morning of the twenty-ninth of November, at the head of the European troops; after a warm contest he was repulsed.

The conduct of the Highlanders, against whom Lally directed his chief attack, is thus noticed in the general orders issued on the occasion: "The intrepidity with which Major Campbell and the Highlanders repeatedly charged the enemy was most honourable to their character." In this affair the 42d had three sergeants and nineteen rank and file killed, and Major John Campbell, Captains Colin Campbell and Thomas Dalyell, Lieutenant Charles Sutherland, two sergeants, and thirty-one rank and file wounded.

After this service, Colonel Macleod with his battalion embarked for Bombay, and joined the army under Brigadier-General Matthews at Cundapore, on the ninth of January, 1793. On the twenty-third General Matthews moved forward to attack Beddinore, from which the sultan drew most of his supplies for his army. General Matthews was greatly harassed on his march by flying parties of the enemy, and in crossing the mountains was much impeded by the nature of the country, and by a succession of field-works erected on the face of these mountains. On the twenty-sixth of February, the 42d, led by Colonel Macleod, and followed by a corps of seapoys, attacked these positions with the bayonet, and were in the breast-work before the enemy were aware of it. Four hundred of the

enemy were bayoneted, and the rest were pursued to the walls of the fort. Seven forts were attacked and taken in this manner in succession. The principal redoubt, distinguished by the appellation of Hyder Gurr, situated on the summit of the highest ghaut or precipice, presented a more formidable appearance. It had a dry ditch in front, mounted with twenty pieces of cannon, and might have offered considerable resistance to the advance of the army, if well-defended; but the loss of their seven batteries had so terrified the enemy that they abandoned their last and strongest position in the course of the night, leaving behind them eight thousand stand of new arms, and a considerable quantity of powder, shot, and military stores. The army took possession of Beddinore the following day, but this triumph was of short duration, as the enemy soon recaptured the place, and took General Matthews and the greater part of his army prisoners.

Meanwhile the other companies were employed with a detachment under Major Campbell, in an enterprise against the fort of Annanpore, which was attacked and carried on the fifteenth of February with little loss. Major Campbell returned his thanks to the troops for their spirited behaviour on this occasion, "and his particular acknowledgments to Captain Dalyell, and the officers and men of the flank companies of the 42d regiment, who headed the storm." As the Highlanders on this occasion had trusted more to their fire than to the bayonet, the major strongly recommended to them in future never to fire a shot when the bayonet could be used.

The Highlanders remained at Annanpore till the end of February, when they were sent under Major Campbell to occupy Carrical and Morebedery. They remained in these two small forts till the twelfth of April, when

they marched first to Gourspoore, and thence to Mangalore. Here the command of the troops, in consequence of the absence of Lieutenant-Colonels Macleod and Humberstone, devolved upon Major Campbell, now promoted to the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel. General Matthews having been suspended, Colonel Macleod, now promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, was appointed to succeed him.

Encouraged by the recapture of Beddinore, Tippoo detached a considerable force towards Mangalore, but they were attacked and defeated by Colonel Campbell, on the sixth of May. Little loss was sustained on either side, but the enemy left all their guns. The Highlanders had seven privates killed, and Captain William Stewart and sixteen rank and file wounded.

Tippoo having now no force in the field to oppose him, advanced upon Mangalore with his whole army, consisting of ninety thousand men, besides a corps of European infantry from the isle of France, a troop of dismounted French cavalry from the Mauritius, and Lally's corps of Europeans and natives. This immense force was supported by eighty pieces of cannon. The garrison of Mangalore was in a very sickly state, there being only twenty-one sergeants, twelve drummers, and 210 rank and file of king's troops, and fifteen hundred natives fit for duty.

With the exception of a strong outpost about a mile from Mangalore, the place was completely invested by the sultan's army about the middle of May. The defence of the outpost was entrusted to some seapoys, but they were obliged to abandon it on the twenty-third. The siege was now prosecuted with vigour, and many attacks were made, but the garrison, though suffering the severest privations, repulsed every attempt. Having succeeded at length in making large breaches

in the walls, and reducing some parts of them to a mass of ruins, the enemy repeatedly attempted to enter the breaches and storm the place; but they were uniformly forced to retire, sustaining a greater loss by every successive attack. On the twentieth of July, a cessation of hostilities was agreed to, but on the twenty-third the enemy violated the truce, by springing a mine. Hostilities were then resumed and continued till the twenty-ninth, when a regular armistice was entered into. Brigadier-General Macleod anchored in the bay on the seventeenth of August, with a small convoy of provisions and a reinforcement of troops; but on learning the terms of the armistice, the general, from a feeling of honour, ordered the ships back to Tillycherry, to the great disappointment of the half-famished garrison. Two reinforcements which arrived off the coast successively on the twenty-second of November, and the last day of December, also returned to the places whence they had come.

About this time, in consequence of the peace with France, Colonel Cossigny, the French commander, withdrew his troops, to the great displeasure of the sultan, who encouraged the French soldiers to desert and join his standard. Some of them accordingly deserted, but Colonel Cossigny having recovered part of them, indicated his dissatisfaction with Tippoo's conduct by ordering them to be shot in presence of two persons sent by the sultan to intercede for their lives.

The misery of the garrison was now extreme. Nearly one-half of the troops had been carried off, and one-half of the survivors was in the hospital. The seapoys in particular were so exhausted, that many of them dropped down in the act of shouldering their firelocks, whilst others became totally blind. Despairing of aid, and obliged to eat horses, frogs, dogs, crows, catfish,

black grain, etc., the officers resolved, in a council of war, to surrender the place. The terms, which were highly honourable to the garrison, were acceded to by the sultan, and the capitulation was signed on the thirtieth of January, 1784, after a siege of nearly nine months. In the defence of Mangalore, the Highlanders had Captain Dalyell, Lieutenants Macpherson, Mackenzie, and Macintyre, one piper and eighteen soldiers killed; and Captains William Stewart, Robert John Napier, and Lieutenants Murray, Robertson, and Welsh, three sergeants, one piper, and forty-seven rank and file wounded. The corps also lost Mr. Dennis, the acting chaplain, who was shot in the forehead by a matchlock ball, whilst standing behind a breastwork of sand-bags, and looking at the enemy through a small aperture.

Alluding to the siege of Mangalore, in his views of the British interests in India, Colonel Fullarton says, that the garrison under its estimable commander, Colonel Campbell, "made a defence that has seldom been equalled, and never surpassed." And Colonel Lindsay observes, in his "Military Miscellany," that "the defence of Colberg in Pomerania, by Major Heiden and his small garrison, and that of Mangalore in the East Indies, by Colonel Campbell and the second battalion of the Royal Highlanders, now the 73d regiment, are as noble examples as any in history." The East India company showed a due sense of the services of the garrison, by ordering a monument to be erected to the memory of Colonel Campbell, Captains Stewart and Dalyell, and those who fell at the siege, and giving a handsome gratuity to the survivors.

The battalion embarked for Tillycherry on the fourth of February, 1784, where it remained till April, when it departed for Bombay. It was afterward stationed at Dinapore in Bengal, when on the eighteenth of April,

1786, the battalion was formed into a separate corps, with green facings, under the denomination of the 73d regiment, the command of which was given to Sir George Osborne. It was at first intended to reduce the junior officers of both battalions, instead of putting all the officers of the second on half pay, but on mutual representations being made by the officers of both battalions, the arrangement alluded to was made to save the necessity of putting any of the officers on half pay.

In December, 1787, the 73d removed to Cawenpore, where it remained till March, 1790, when it was sent to Fort William in Bengal. Next year the regiment joined the army in Malabar, under the command of Major-General Robert Abercromby. Major Macdowall being about this time promoted to the 57th, was succeeded by Captain James Spens.

With the view of attacking Seringapatam, Lord Cornwallis directed General Abercromby to join him with all his disposable force, consisting of the 73d, 75th, and 77th British, and seven native regiments. He accordingly began his march on the fifth of December, 1791, but owing to different causes he did not join the main army till the sixteenth of February following. The enemy having been repulsed before Seringapatam, on the twenty-second, entered into preliminaries of peace on the twenty-fourth, when the war ended.

The regiment was employed in the expedition against Pondicherry, in 1793, when they formed part of Colonel David Baird's brigade. The regiment, though much reduced by sickness, had received from time to time several detachments of recruits from Scotland, and at this period it was eight hundred strong. In the enterprise against Pondicherry, Captain Galpine, Lieutenant Donald Macgregor, and Ensign Tod were killed.

The 73d formed part of the force sent against Ceylon,

in the year 1793, under Major-General James Stuart. It remained in the island till 1797, when it returned to Madras, and was quartered in different parts of that presidency till 1799, when it joined the army under General Harris.

This army encamped at Malrilly on the twenty-seventh of March, on which day a battle took place with the sultan, whose army was totally routed, with the loss of a thousand men, whilst that of the British was only sixty-nine men killed and wounded. Advancing slowly, the British army arrived in the neighbourhood of the Mysore capital, on the fifth of April, and took up a position preparatory to a siege, the third within the space of a few years. The enemy's advanced troops and rocket-men gave some annoyance to the piquets the same evening, but they were driven back next morning by two columns under the Honourable Colonel Arthur Wellesley and Colonel Shaw, an attempt made by the same officers the previous evening having miscarried, in consequence of the darkness of the night and some unexpected obstructions. The Bombay army joined on the thirtieth, and took up a position in the line, the advanced posts being within a thousand yards of the garrison. A party of the 75th, under Colonel Hart, having dislodged the enemy on the seventeenth, established themselves under cover within a thousand yards of the fort; whilst at the same time Major Macdonald (son of Clanranald) of the 73d, with a detachment of his own and other regiments, took possession of a post at the same distance from the fort on the south. On the evening of the twentieth, another detachment under Colonels Sherbrooke, St. John and Monypenny, drove two thousand of the enemy from an entrenched position within eight hundred yards of the place, with the loss of only five killed and wounded, whilst that

of the enemy was 250 men. On the twenty-second the enemy made a vigorous though unsuccessful sortie on all the advanced posts. They renewed the attempt several times, but were as often repulsed with great loss. Next day the batteries opened with such effect that all the guns opposed to them were silenced in the course of a few hours. The siege was continued with unabated vigour till the morning of the fourth of May, when it was resolved to attempt an assault. Major-General Baird, who, twenty years before, had been kept a prisoner in chains in the city he was now to storm, was appointed to command the assailants, who were to advance in two columns under Colonels Dunlop and Sherbrooke; the Honourable Colonel Arthur Wellesley commanding the reserve. The whole force amounted to 4,376 firelocks. Everything being in readiness, at one o'clock in the afternoon the troops waited the signal, and on its being given they rushed impetuously forward, and in less than two hours Seringapatam was in possession of the British. The sultan and a number of his chief officers fell whilst defending the capital. In this gallant assault Lieutenant Lalor of the 73d was killed, and Captain William Macleod, Lieutenant Thomas, and Ensigns Antill and Guthrie of the same regiment were wounded.

Nothing now remained to complete the subjugation of the Mysore but to subdue a warlike chief who had taken up arms in support of the sultan. Colonel Wellesley was detached against him with the 73d and some other troops, when his army was dispersed and the chief himself killed in a charge of cavalry.

In 1805 the regiment was ordered home, but such of the men as were inclined to remain in India were offered a bounty. The result was that most of them volunteered, and the few that remained embarked at Madras for

England and arrived at Gravesend in July, 1806. The remains of the regiment arrived at Perth in 1807, and in 1809 the ranks were filled up to eight hundred men, and a second battalion was added. The uniform and designation of the corps was then changed, and it ceased to be a Highland regiment.

SEVENTY-FOURTH REGIMENT

1787

In the year 1787 four new regiments were ordered to be raised for the service of the state, to be numbered the 74th, 75th, 76th, and 77th. The two first were directed to be raised in the north of Scotland, and were to be Highland regiments. The regimental establishment of each was to consist of ten companies of seventy-five men each, with the customary number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers. Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell, K. B., from the half pay of Fraser's Highlanders, was appointed colonel of the 74th regiment.

As the state of affairs in India required that reinforcements should be immediately despatched to that country, all the men who had been embodied previously to January, 1788, were ordered for embarkation without waiting for the full complement. In consequence of these orders four hundred men, about one-half Highlanders, embarked at Grangemouth, and sailed from Chatham for the East Indies, under the command of Captain William Wallace. The regiment having been completed in autumn, the recruits followed in February, 1789, and arrived at Madras in June in the most perfect health. They joined the first detachment at the cantonments of Poonamalee, and thus united the corps amounted to 750. These were now disciplined by Lieutenant-

Colonel Maxwell, who had succeeded Lieutenant-Colonel Forbes in the command, a duty of which he had acquired some experience as captain in Fraser's Highlanders.

In connection with the main army under Lord Cornwallis the Madras army under General Meadows, of which the 74th formed a part, began a series of movements in the spring of 1790. The defence of the passes leading into the Carnatic from Mysore was entrusted to Colonel Kelly, who, besides his own corps, had under him the 74th; but dying in September, Colonel Maxwell succeeded to the command. In consequence of orders to attack Baramahl, he entered that country and was about to invest Kistnaggery, a rock of great strength; but before his arrangements were completed Tippoo Saib, who had received notice of his advance, advanced towards Kistnaggery with three-fourths of his army, and made his appearance in the neighbourhood on the twelfth. On that and the two following days the sultan made different attempts to draw Colonel Maxwell from his position, and Tippoo being frustrated in his designs to attack him, unless at great disadvantage, drew off his troops on the evening of the fourteenth, on the approach of General Meadows.

The 74th was now put in brigade with the 71st and 72d Highland regiments. The regiment suffered no loss in the different movements which took place till the storming of Bangalore, on the twenty-first of March, 1791. The whole loss of the British, however, was only five men.

In the second attempt on Seringapatam, on the sixth of February, 1792, the 74th, with the 52d regiment and 71st Highlanders, formed the centre under the immediate orders of the commander-in-chief.

On the termination of hostilities this regiment returned

to the coast. In July, 1793, the flank companies were embodied with those of the 71st in the expedition against Pondicherry.

Besides reinforcements of recruits from Scotland fully sufficient to compensate all casualties, the regiment received, on the occasion of the 71st being ordered home to Europe, upwards of two hundred men from that regiment. By these additions the strength of the regiment was kept up, and the regiment, as well in the previous campaign as in the subsequent one under General Harris, was one of the most effective in the field. The 74th was concerned in all operations of this campaign, and had its full share in the storming of Seringapatam, on the fourth of May, 1799.

The 74th had not an opportunity again of distinguishing itself till the year 1803, when three occasions occurred. The first was on the eighth of August, when the fortress of Ahmadnagur, then in possession of Scindia, the Mahratta chief, was attacked, and carried by assault by the army, detached under the Honourable Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, in which affair the 74th, which formed a part of the brigade commanded by Colonel Wallace, bore a distinguished part. The next was the battle of Assaye, fought on the twenty-third of September. In this action, the keenest ever fought in India, the brunt of the attack fell on the 74th, which had Captains D. Aytone, Andrew Dyce, Roderick Macleod, John Maxwell, Lieutenants John Campbell, John Morshead Campbell, Lorn Campbell (son of Colonel Campbell of Melford), James Grant, J. Morris, Robert Neilson, Volunteer Moore, nine sergeants, seven drummers, and 127 rank and file killed; and Major Samuel Swinton, Captains Norman Moore, Matthew Shaw, John Alex. Main, Robert Macmurdo, J. Longland, Ensign Kierman, eleven sergeants, seven drummers, and 270 rank and

file wounded. The last was the battle of Argaum, which was gained with little loss, and which fell chiefly on the 74th regiment. An account of these different affairs will be found in the article on the service of the 78th regiment.

In September, 1805, the regiment embarked for England; but all the men fit for duty remained in India. In 1809, the Highland garb, which had been laid aside in the East, being considered too warm for the climate of India, was finally abandoned, and the uniform of the line adopted, as the national designation of the corps was to be given up in future.

The regiment, upwards of seven hundred strong, embarked for Spain in the autumn of 1811, and maintained, throughout the whole of the Peninsular campaigns, the high reputation it had acquired in India. To appreciate the important services of this excellent corps, it is only necessary to state that they were engaged in ten battles and sieges in France and Spain, viz., those of Busaco, Fuentes d'Honore, Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos, Salamanca, Vittoria, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Orthés, and Toulouse.

SEVENTY-FIFTH REGIMENT

1787

Whilst Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell was appointed colonel of the 74th, the colonelcy of its coeval regiment, the 75th, was conferred on Colonel Robert Abercromby of Tullybody. He had commanded a light infantry brigade during six campaigns in the American war; and as several companies of this brigade had been composed of the light infantry of the Highland regiments, then in America, the colonel was well known to the Highlanders, and thus acquired an influence

among them rarely enjoyed by officers born south of the Grampians. There are instances, no doubt, such as those of the Marquis of Montrose and Lord Viscount Dundee, and others of modern date, "where Highland corps have formed attachments to officers not natives of their country, and not less ardent than to the chiefs of old;" and if the instances have been few, the circumstance has been entirely owing to the officers themselves, who, from ignorance of the Highland character, or from some other cause, have failed to attach the Highlanders to them.

From personal respect to Colonel Abercromby, many of the Highlanders, who had served under him in America, and had been discharged at the peace of 1783, enlisted anew, and with about three hundred men who were recruited at Perth, and in the northern counties, constituted the Highland part of the regiment. According to a practice which then prevailed, of fixing the headquarters of a regiment, about to be raised, in the neighbourhood of the colonel's residence, if a man of family, the town of Stirling was appointed for the embodying of the 75th, where it was accordingly regimented in June, 1788, and being immediately ordered for England, embarked for India, where it disembarked about the end of that year.

For eighteen months after its arrival in India, the regiment was subjected to a severity of discipline by one of the captains, who appears to have adopted the old Prussian model for his rule. A more unfortunate plan for destroying the *morale* of a Highland regiment could not have been devised, and the result was, that there were more punishments in the 75th than in any other corps of the same description during the existence of this discipline. But as soon as the system was relaxed by the appointment of an officer who knew the

dispositions and feelings of the Highlanders the conduct of the men improved.

The regiment took the field in 1790, under the command of Colonel Hartley, and in the two subsequent years formed part of the force under Major-General Robert Abercromby, on his two marches to Seringapatam. The regiment was also employed in the assault of that capital in 1799, the flank companies having led the left columns. From that period down to 1804, the regiment was employed in the provinces of Malabar, Goa, the Guzzerat, etc., and in 1805 was with General Lake's army in the disastrous attacks on Bhurtpore.

The regiment was ordered home in 1806; but such of the men as were desirous of remaining in India, were left behind. In 1809 there were not one hundred men in the regiment who had been born north of the Tay; on which account, it is believed, the designation of the regiment was at that time changed.

ROSS-SHIRE HIGHLANDERS

OR SEVENTY-EIGHTH REGIMENT

First Battalion

1793

Great Britain, having joined the league against revolutionary France, found it necessary not only to place the old establishment of the army, consisting of seventy-seven regiments, on the war footing, but to raise several new regiments. In the important and arduous contest in which she had now engaged, she again appealed to the hardy sons of the north to join the standard of their country. Among other warrants issued about this time for raising regiments, letters of

service were granted to the late Lord Seaforth; and although the affections of the Highlanders, particularly in Ross-shire, where it was intended to raise recruits for the new regiment, had been greatly alienated by recent proceedings on the part of the landed proprietors, by dispossessing their tenantry of their farms, yet so great was the attachment for an ancient family, that within a few months after the warrant was issued, the first establishment of the regiment was completed and embodied by Lieutenant-General Sir Hector Munro at Fort George, on the tenth of February, 1793. Being the first regiment embodied in the late war, it was numbered the 78th, being the same number as that of the regiment raised by the former Earl of Seaforth in the year 1779.

The following is a list of the original officers whose commissions were dated the eighth of March, 1793: —

Lieutenant-Colonel, commandant — F. H. Mackenzie, afterward Lord Seaforth, died a lieutenant-general in 1816.
Lieutenant-Colonel — Alexander Mackenzie Fraser, died a lieutenant-general in 1809.

Majors

George, Earl of Errol, died in 1799.
Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Fairburn, Baronet, lieutenant-general in 1809.

Captains

Alexander Macleod, died in 1798.
Thomas Fraser of Leadclune, retired, died in 1820.
John Mackenzie, son of Gairloch, lieutenant-general in 1814.
Gabriel Mackay, killed in 1794.
Alexander Grant, retired, died in 1807.
J. Randoll Mackenzie of Suddie, major-general, 1804, killed at Talavera in 1809.
Alexander Adams, major-general, 1814.
Hon. George Cochrane, son of the late Earl of Dundonald, retired.
Captain and Lieutenant — Dun. Munro of Culcairn, retired, died in 1820.

Lieutenants

Colin Mackenzie.
James Fraser, retired 1795.
Thomas, Lord Cochrane, now Earl of Dundonald.

Charles Rose.
Hugh Munro, Captain of Invalids.
George Bayley, promoted to a company in the 44th.
Charles Adamson, retired.
William Douglas, son of Brigton, died lieutenant-general, 91st regiment.
Sir Archibald Christie, late commandant-general of hospitals.

Ensigns

Duncan Macrea.
John Macleod, major-general, 1819.
J. Mackenzie Scott, captain 57th, killed at Albuhera.
Charles Mackenzie.
John Reid.
David Forbes, lieutenant-colonel, half pay.
Alexander Ross, major of Veterans.
John Fraser.

Chaplain — Alexander Downie, D. D.
Quartermaster — Archd. Macdougall.
Surgeon — Thomas Baillie, died in India.
Adjutant — James Fraser.

Immediately on being embodied, five companies were sent to Guernsey, where they were brigaded with other troops under the command of the Earl of Moira. The other five companies joined the corps in the same island, in September of the same year. The newly raised regiment was composed of the best materials, being "an excellent body of men, healthy, vigorous, and efficient; in short, possessing those principles of integrity and moral conduct, which constitute a valuable soldier."

In September, 1794, the 78th joined an expedition under Major-General Lord Mulgrave, the object of which was to occupy Zealand. On reaching Flushing, the 78th, with other regiments, was ordered to join the Duke of York's army on the Waal. They reached Tuil in the middle of October, and marched to the village of Roscum on the Bommill Wart on the Maese. The enemy were posted in considerable force on the opposite bank; but, with the exception of a few passing shots, nothing occurred.

The 78th next marched to reinforce the garrison of Nimeguen, to which place the enemy had laid siege.

Along with the 8th, 27th, 28th, 53d, and some cavalry and Dutch troops, the Highlanders made a sortie on the fourth of November, in which they acquitted themselves with the characteristic bravery of their countrymen. They advanced against the enemy's batteries under a heavy fire, and finding a French battalion drawn up in the trenches, leaped into the midst of them, and, attacking them with the bayonet, put them to flight. The British had only twelve rank and file killed, among whom there were seven Highlanders; and twelve officers, ten sergeants, and 149 rank and file, wounded. Among these were five officers, four sergeants, and fifty-six rank and file of the 78th. The Highland officers wounded were Major Malcolm, Captains Hugh Munro and Colin Mackenzie, Lieutenant Bayley and Ensign Martin Cameron, who died of their wounds. The greater part of the wounds were received from the enemy's musketry while advancing.

After the evacuation of Nimeguen on the sixth, the 78th entered the third brigade of reserve on the tenth, which brigade consisted of the 12th, 33d, and 42d, all under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Mackenzie Fraser. No movement took place on the part of the British army till the twenty-ninth of December, when, the enemy having crossed the Waal on the ice at Bommill, the right wing instantly marched and concentrated at Khiel under Major-General David Dundas. On the same night this wing advanced on Tuil, where the enemy had taken up a position; but the enemy did not wait, but retired on their approach. In this movement Brevet-Major Murray and some men of the 78th light company were killed by a distant cannonade.

After lying on the snow for two nights, the army sought refuge from the inclemency of the weather in some

barns. They afterward removed to Gildermalsen, whither the French advanced, on the fifth of January, 1795. The 78th was posted in front of the village in two wings, with the road open between them. The light company with two howitzers was drawn up in advance. The 42d occupied the different avenues to the village; the 12th and 19th regiments were at some distance to the right; and the 33d, with a squadron of the 11th dragoons, was posted in advance at Meteren. Having driven in the outposts, the enemy pushed forward a regiment of French Hussars, whose uniform resembled that of the emigrant regiment of Choiseul in the British service, and under cover of this deception, they galloped along the road vociferating "Choiseul, Choiseul!" Before this ruse was discovered they had advanced close to the light company of the 78th, but being instantly discovered they were attacked and checked. Part of them, however, succeeded in pushing through the intervals between the two wings towards the village, but they were met by the light company of the 42d, whose fire drove them back, and dispersed them. Emboldened by the advance of the cavalry, the French infantry marched forward, singing the "Carmagnole March." The 78th allowed them to advance close upon them, when they opened their fire with such effect, that the enemy were obliged to retire in great confusion. In this affair Captain Duncan Munro of the 78th was wounded, and a few soldiers of the same regiment killed and wounded.

The regiment was afterward engaged in all the subsequent movements of the army, and in the retreat to Bremen, where it arrived on the twenty-eighth of April. They shortly after embarked for England, and landed at Harwich on the tenth of May, and in the month of August following marched to the neighbour-

hood of Southampton, where they were put under the command of the Earl of Moira, who was appointed to the command of an expedition to support the French Royalists in La Vendée.

Second Battalion

1794

Before proceeding farther in the history of this regiment, it is necessary to notice the second battalion, which was ordered to be raised in February, 1794. To this corps the following officers were named: —

Lieutenant-Colonel, commandant — F. H. Mackenzie, Lord Seaforth, 10th Feb., 1794.
Lieutenant-Colonel — Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Fairburn, Bart., lieutenant-general.

Majors

J. Randoll Mackenzie of Suddie, major-general, 1804, killed at Talavera.
Michael Monypenny, promoted to the 73d regiment, dead.

Captains

John H. Brown, killed.
Simon Mackenzie.
William Campbell, killed at Java in 1811, a lieutenant-general.
John Mackenzie, major-general, 1813.
Patrick Macleod, son of Geanies, killed at El Hamet in 1807, lieutenant-colonel, 2d battalion.
Hercules Scott of Benholm, killed in Canada, lieutenant-colonel of the 103d regiment, 1814.
John Scott.
John Macleod, major-general, 1819.

Lieutenants

James Hanson.
Alexander Macneil.
Æneas Sutherland.
Murdoch Mackenzie.
Archibald C. B. Crawford.
Norman Macleod, afterward lieutenant-colonel, Royal Scots.
John Douglas.
George Macgregor.
B. G. Mackay.
Donald Cameron.
James Hay.
Thomas Davidson.
William Gordon.
Robert Johnstone.

Thomas Leslie.
Alexander Sutherland, senior.
Alexander Sutherland, junior.
P. Mackintosh.
The Hon. William Douglas Halyburton, colonel, half pay.
John Macneil.
John Dunbar.

Ensigns

George Macgregor, afterward lieutenant-colonel of the 59th regiment.
Donald Cameron.
John Macneil.
William Polson.
Alexander Wishart.

Chaplain — Charles Proby.
Adjutant — James Hanson.
Quartermaster — Alexander Wishart.

This battalion was equal, in point of numbers, to the first, and 560 of the men were Highlanders. They embarked at Fort George in August, 1794, for England, where they remained till April following, when six companies formed part of an expedition against the Cape of Good Hope. In this enterprise the battalion lost very few men. Major Monypenny and Captain Hercules Scott, with five men, were wounded. On the capture of the cape, the battalion remained in garrison under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Mackenzie of Fairburn.

First and Second Battalions Consolidated

In conjunction with the 12th, 80th, and 90th regiments the first battalion was detached in August, 1795, under Major-General W. Ellis Doyle, to make a diversion in favour of the royalist army in La Vendée. When they arrived off Quiberon the British general found that the royalists had been there overpowered, and seeing that he could not effect a landing on the coast he disembarked on Isle Dieu, where the troops remained till January, 1796, when they returned to England. At Portsmouth, whither the regiment had marched, they received orders to embark for the East

Indies, instructions having been issued to form both battalions into one, and to place the junior officers of each rank on half pay till otherwise provided for.

At this time Lord Seaforth resigned the colonelcy of the regiment, but retained his rank in the army. The regiment embarked at Portsmouth on the sixth of March and landed at the Cape of Good Hope on the first of June, 1796. The union of the two battalions now took place, and all the supernumerary officers and men were ordered home. The strength of the corps when consolidated amounted to 1,113 men, of whom 970 were Highlanders, 129 Scotch Lowlanders, and fourteen English and Irish. The regiment sailed for Bengal on the tenth of November, and landed at Fort George on the twelfth of February, 1797, whence, after a few days' rest, it marched to Burhampore.

No event occurring for six years to require their services in the field, the regiment kept shifting its cantonments in Bengal. During that period, as indeed was the case before as it has been since, the conduct of this respectable corps was very exemplary. "Among these men desertion was unknown and corporal punishment unnecessary. The detestation and disgrace of such a mode of punishment would have rendered a man infamous in his own estimation, and an outcast from the society of his country and kindred. Fortunately for these men they were placed under the command of an officer well-calculated for the charge. Born among themselves, of a family which they were accustomed to respect, and possessing both judgment and temper, he perfectly understood their character and ensured their esteem and regard. Many brave honest soldiers have been lost from the want of such men at their head. The appointment of a commander to a corps is a subject of deep importance. Colonel Mackenzie knew

his men, and the value which they attached to a good name, by tarnishing which they would bring shame on their country and kindred. In case of any misconduct he had only to remonstrate, or threaten to transmit to their parents a report of their misbehaviour. This was, indeed, to them a grievous punishment, acting, like the curse of Kehama, as a perpetual banishment from a country to which they could not return with a bad character." This admirable system of discipline attracted great notice in India. To their other good qualities they added that of abstemiousness in drinking, and to such an extent did they carry their sobriety that it was found necessary to restrict them from selling or giving away the usual allowance of liquor to other soldiers.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie Fraser having left India, in the year 1800, Colonel J. Randoll Mackenzie succeeded to the command, who having also returned to England in 1802, the command devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel John Mackenzie (Gairloch), and afterward on Lieutenant-Colonel Adams. Though the last-mentioned officer was a Celt of Wales, he enjoyed the confidence of the men as much as any of his predecessors. He had joined the regiment on its formation when very young and entered readily into the feelings and peculiarities of the men. These different changes were attended with no alteration in the admirable system of discipline originally adopted by Colonel Mackenzie.

In consequence of the war with Scindia, the Mahratta chief, the 78th regiment embarked in February, 1803, at Fort William, in Bengal, and, landing at Bombay in April, joined the army commanded by Colonel John Murray. It was afterward detached with the army under the command of Major-General the Honour-

able Arthur Wellesley, and placed in brigade with the 80th and the 1st European and 3d Native battalions under Lieutenant-Colonel Harness. The 74th, with the same number of European and Native regiments, formed another brigade commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace. The cavalry brigade, which was under Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, consisted of the 19th Light Dragoons and the Native cavalry. Two guns were attached to each corps of infantry and cavalry. The army was followed by a large body of Mysore and Mahratta horse and a corps of pioneers. In marching the line of baggage, always important in an Indian army, kept close to the columns, the flanks and rear being covered by corps of Native horse. The army encamped early in August within eight miles of Ahmednagur after a tedious march. Resolving to attempt the town by assault, General Wellesley formed his army on the eighth in three columns, the flank companies of the two Highland regiments, the 74th and 78th, being the advanced guard. The battalion companies of the same corps led the other two columns. The place had no ramparts but was surrounded by a high wall, so narrow at the top as to make it impracticable to obtain a footing. The advanced guard rushed forward, but every man who gained the top disdaining to retreat, and unable to advance, was killed on the spot. The enemy, however, were so intimidated by the approach of the columns, that they surrendered the town without further resistance. In this affair the 78th had Captains F. Mackenzie Humberstone and Duncan Grant, Lieutenant Anderson, and twelve men killed; and Lieutenant Larkins and five men wounded.

After the capture of Ahmednagur the army proceeded in its march, and, after a series of long and harassing movements, found itself, on the twenty-first of

September, within a short march of two numerous bodies of the enemy under the command of Scindia and the rajah of Berar. Having next day met a detachment of the Bombay army under Colonel Stephenson, on the twenty-third General Wellesley concerted with that officer a plan for attacking the enemy. Pursuant to this design both armies advanced by separate lines of march. On the morning of the twenty-third intelligence was brought to General Wellesley that the enemy's cavalry were already on their retreat, and that the infantry were preparing to follow. Colonel Stephenson had not come up, and no time was to be lost. Whilst the general hastened forward with the cavalry to reconnoitre, he ordered the infantry to follow him instantly. Having detached two battalions to Poonah and left a third at Ahmednagur his army was reduced to about 4,700 men, with twenty-six field-pieces, to oppose which the enemy was supposed to have one hundred pieces of cannon and thirty thousand men. The infantry were well-disciplined by French and other European officers, and the artillery was well-served. Notwithstanding this immense numerical disparity General Wellesley resolved to hazard an engagement single-handed.

On reconnoitring the enemy General Wellesley found that they were drawn up on a rising ground with the cavalry on the right, and their line extended to the village of Assaye on the left. When the leading division of the army arrived within a short distance of the enemy's position, the line of battle was formed as follows: The first line consisted of the piquets of the army on the right, the 78th on the left, and the 8th and 10th native regiments in the centre; the second line consisted of the 74th with the 12th and 4th native battalions; the third line, or reserve, was composed

entirely of cavalry. The two armies were divided by the Kaitna, a small stream with high banks and a deep channel, and, except at the fords, impassable to cavalry and guns.

Observing the reconnoitring party the enemy opened a cannonade, the first shot of which killed one of General Wellesley's escorts. In pursuance of a plan to make the first attack on the enemy's left, a column crossed the Kaitna by a ford within reach of the enemy's cannon, which played on it with effect. To meet this movement the enemy's first line changed position to the left, thus opposing a front to the intended attack. By this change the second line of the enemy was at right angles to the first. The first line of the British formed parallel to that of the enemy, at the distance of about five hundred yards, the left being directly opposite to the right of the enemy, and the second and third lines in the rear. Whilst this formation was going on the enemy kept up a well-directed fire from their great guns, which was answered by the guns of the first line, which, from many of the draught oxen having been disabled, were drawn by the soldiers.

When the order of battle was formed General Wellesley ordered the line to advance in a quick pace without firing a shot, but to trust entirely to the bayonet. This order was received with cheers and instantly obeyed. The line, however, had not advanced far when it became necessary to halt, in consequence of the leading battalions, composed of the piquets, diverging from the line of direction. When the order to halt was issued the troops had reached the summit of a swell of the ground which had previously sheltered their advance. The moment was critical. Conceiving that the halt proceeded from timidity, the enemy redoubled their efforts, firing chain-shot and every missile they could

bring to bear upon the line. Afraid of the effect of this momentary halt on the minds of the native troops, General Wellesley rode up in front of one of their battalions, and, taking off his hat, cheered them in their own language, and gave the word to advance again. This order was also received with cheers and instantly obeyed. As soon as the 78th came within 150 yards of the enemy they advanced in quick time and charged. At this instant some European officers in the enemy's service mounted their horses and fled. Thus deserted by their officers the infantry immediately fled with such speed that few were overtaken by the bayonet, but many of the gunners who stuck to their guns were bayonetted in the act of loading.

The 78th now quickly re-formed line, and, wheeling to the right, presented a front to the enemy's left, preparatory to an advance on the enemy's second line. During these operations on the left the 74th advanced over an open plain to the enemy's front under a destructive fire from thirty pieces of cannon. The obstructions they met with from a prickly pear-hedge retarded their advance, and they were thus longer exposed to this fire. After disentangling themselves from the hedge, in which many of the men lost their shoes and had their feet lacerated, and with one-half of their number killed and wounded, a large body of horse advanced to charge them; but they were immediately relieved by Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, who, advancing rapidly with the 19th dragoons, charged the enemy in flank and drove them off the field. By this fortunate occurrence the remains of the 74th were enabled to take up their position in the front line, on the immediate right of the 78th, which was on the left of the army, now formed in one line.

Whilst the enemy kept up a heavy fire from the vil-

lage in front the British were unexpectedly annoyed in their rear by numbers of the enemy who came up from the banks of the river, and by others, who, having thrown themselves on the ground as dead, were passed over by the troops, and who now commenced a heavy fire from their own guns, which had been abandoned on the charge of the first line. At the same time a body of the enemy's cavalry appeared on the left flank preparing to charge. To meet this attack the left wing of the Highlanders was thrown back a few paces on its right, when they were fortunately joined by Lieutenant D. Cameron, who had been left with a party to protect two guns which could not be brought forward in consequence of their draught oxen having been killed. The crisis was important. The enemy had an unbroken line in front, flanked by batteries of round shot on their right. The British were annoyed by an incessant fire from the cannon in their front, and by grape in their rear, and threatened with cavalry on their left; yet they preserved a steadiness, whilst waiting for orders, which has never been surpassed. At length the moment had arrived when a decisive blow was to be struck. The cavalry, by the general's orders, advanced to charge the enemy's squadrons on the left, but they did not wait the attack. Then directing the line to attack their front he led the 78th, the 19th Light dragoons, and 7th native cavalry to the rear, and attacked the enemy, who had collected there in considerable force. They made a brave resistance, and part of them stood a charge of the 19th dragoons, in which Colonel Maxwell, a brave and meritorious officer, was killed. Great difficulty was experienced by the Highlanders in clearing the part of the field to which they were opposed and in recovering the cannon. The enemy forced the regiment to change its front three times, and whilst moving on

one party the others kept up a galling fire which did not cease till the whole were driven off the field. A party of the enemy's light horse, who had gone out to forage in the morning, and were erroneously reported to have marched, now returned; but they were too late to be of any service, and fled on the approach of a party of Mysore horse.

The victory of Assaye was one of the most brilliant achievements ever performed by the British arms in India, whether we consider the immense disparity of force, or the obstinacy with which the enemy sustained the contest. Ninety-eight pieces of cannon and an immense quantity of military stores fell into the hands of the victors. The enemy had twelve hundred men killed, and about three thousand wounded. Among twenty-one British officers killed, the Highlanders lost Lieutenant Douglas, and of thirty wounded they had four, viz., Captain Alexander Mackenzie, Lieutenants Kinloch and Larkins, and Ensign Bethune. Several other officers, however, received contusions, who were not included in the list of wounded. The regiment had also twenty-seven rank and file killed, and four sergeants and seventy-three rank and file wounded.

The army made a series of movements, attended with occasional partial skirmishes, till the twenty-ninth of November, when the enemy were found drawn up in order of battle, on a plain in front of the village of Argaum. The enemy, though nearly as numerous as the army at Assaye, were neither so well-disciplined, nor so well-appointed, and they had, besides, only thirty-eight pieces of cannon. The British army, on the other hand, was more numerous than in the late engagement, having been reinforced by Colonel Stephenson's division. The British moved forward in one column to the edge of the plain. A small village lay between the head of

the British columns and the line. The cavalry formed in close column behind this village; and the right brigade formed line in its front, the other corps following and forming in succession. The moment the leading piquet passed the village, the enemy, who were about twelve hundred yards distant, discharged twenty-one pieces of cannon in one volley. The native piquets and two battalions, alarmed by this noisy demonstration, which was attended by no injurious consequences, recoiled and took refuge behind the village, leaving the piquets of the 78th and the artillery alone in the field. By the exertions of the officers these battalions were again brought up into line, not, however, till the 78th had joined and formed into line with the piquets and artillery.

The army was drawn up in one line of fifteen battalions, with the 78th on the right, having the 74th on its immediate left, and the 94th on the left of the line, supported by the Mysore horse. The cavalry formed a reserve or second line. In the advance the 78th directed its march against a battery of nine guns, which supported the enemy's left. In the approach, a body of eight hundred infantry darted from behind the battery, and rushed forward with the apparent intention of passing through the interval between the 74th and 78th. To close the interval, and prevent the intended movement, the regiments obliqued their march, and with ported arms moved forward to meet the enemy. But they were prevented by a deep muddy ditch from coming into collision with the bayonet. The enemy, however, drew up along the ditch, and kept firing till their last man fell. Next morning upwards of five hundred dead bodies were found lying by the ditch. Religious fanaticism had impelled these men to fight.

With the exception of an attack made by Scindia's

cavalry on the left of Colonel Stephenson's division, in which he was repulsed by the 6th native infantry, no other attempt of any moment was made by the enemy. After this attack, the whole of the enemy's line instantly gave way, leaving all their artillery on the field. They were pursued by the cavalry by moonlight till nine o'clock. The loss of the British was trifling, and fell chiefly on the 78th, which had nine men killed and twenty-one wounded.

At this time the command of the right brigade devolved upon Colonel Adams, in consequence of the resignation of Colonel Harness from bad health. The command of the piquets of the line thus falling upon Major Hercules Scott, as field-officer of the day, the command of the 78th devolved on Captain James Fraser.

The next, and, as it turned out, the last exploit of General Wellesley's army, was against the strong fort of Gawelghur, which was taken by assault on the thirteenth of December. They however continued in the field, marching and counter-marching, till the twentieth of February, 1804, when the 78th reached Bombay.

The regiment remained in quarters till May, 1805, when five companies were ordered to Baroda in the Guzzerat. The strength of the regiment was kept up by recruits, chiefly from the Scotch militia, and latterly by reinforcements from a second battalion of eight hundred men added to the regiment in 1804. In July, 1805, a detachment of one hundred recruits arrived from Scotland. The regiment removed to Goa in 1807, whence it embarked for Madras in March, 1811. At Goa the utmost harmony and friendship subsisted between the Highlanders and the inhabitants, and when the regiment was about to depart, the Conde de Surzecla, viceroy of Portuguese India, took occasion "to express his sentiments of praise and admiration of the

regular, orderly, and honourable conduct of his Britannic Majesty's 78th Highland regiment, during the four years they have been under his authority, equally and highly creditable to the exemplary discipline of the corps, and to the skill of the excellent commander; and his excellency can never forget the inviolable harmony and friendship which has always subsisted between the subjects of the regent of Portugal, and all classes of this honourable corps."

At this time the corps was 1,027 men strong, of whom only five were left sick at Goa. Of these 835 were Highlanders, 184 Lowlanders, eight English, and nine Irish. A more vigorous and efficient body of men had never before set foot on the soil of India; and in corroboration of this averment, it is only necessary to state, that of the men now in the regiment, upwards of 336 were volunteers from the Perthshire and other Scotch militia regiments, and four hundred were drafts from the second battalion which had been inured to all the details of a military life, by three years' service in the Mediterranean. The men were in general of such great stature, that after the grenadier company was completed from the tallest, the hundred men next in height were found too tall, being beyond the usual size of the light infantry.

Instead of landing at Madras the regiment embarked for Java, on the thirtieth of April, 1811, forming part of the force under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Samuel Achmuty, destined for the capture of that island. The 78th was put in the second brigade commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Adams.

The fleet reached Batavia in August, and the army landed at Chillingching, a few miles east of the city, without opposition. On the eighth of that month the advance of the army under Colonel Rollo Gillespie, moved forward and took possession of the city of Ba-

tavia, which had been abandoned by the enemy. The army advanced upon Batavia on the tenth, and Colonel Gillespie at same time pushed forward to Weltevreede, whither the enemy had retired. On his approach they again retreated and took up a strong position, two miles in front of Cornelis. Though defended by three thousand men and strengthened by an abatis of felled trees, Colonel Gillespie attacked this post immediately, and carried it, after an obstinate resistance, at the point of the bayonet. The enemy lost all their guns. In this smart attack, "the flank companies of the 78th (commanded by Captains David Forbes and Thomas Cameron) and the detachment of the 89th particularly distinguished themselves." Lieutenant John Munro and twelve men of the 78th were killed, and Captain Cameron and twenty-two men wounded.

The chief stronghold of the enemy was Cornelis, a level parallelogram, sixteen hundred yards in length and nine hundred in breadth. A broad and deep river ran on one side and the other three sides were surrounded by ditches. To the old fort, which stood on the bank of the river, General Daendels had added six strong redoubts. Each of these was mounted with cannon, and so placed that the guns of the one commanded and supported the other. The space within was defended by traverses and parapets cut and raised in all directions, intended as a cover for the musketry whilst the great guns fired over them. The whole of these works was defended by three thousand men. Besides the outward ditches small canals had been cut in different directions within this fortified position.

From the tenth to the twentieth the army was occupied in erecting batteries against Cornelis. The attack was fixed for the last-mentioned day. Whilst Colonel Gillespie with the flank battalions, including the Light

Company under Captain David Forbes and the Grenadiers of the 78th under Captain Donald Macleod, supported by Colonel Gibbs with the 59th and the Bengal Volunteers, were to attack the main front opposite Cornelis, the battalion of the 78th, under Lieutenant-Colonel William Campbell, was to push forward to the attack by the main road. Both attacks succeeded, the enemy being forced from every traverse and defence, though not without considerable resistance. Perceiving that the Dutch, by an unaccountable oversight, had left the ditch, over which the battalion companies of the 78th had to pass, dry, Captain James Macpherson pushed forward with two companies and took possession of the dam-dike which kept back the water from the ditch and prevented the enemy from cutting it. In this service Captain Macpherson was wounded in a personal rencounter with a French officer. The 78th then crossed the ditch and carried the redoubt and defences in their front in the most gallant style. The enemy, overpowered on all the points of attack, retreated by the side of the camp which had not been attacked, leaving upwards of a thousand men killed and a great number wounded. In this brilliant affair the British had only ninety-one rank and file killed, and 513 wounded. The 78th lost Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, who was mortally wounded in the advance to the ditch, one drummer and eighteen rank and file killed; and Captains William Mackenzie and James Macpherson, Lieutenant William Mathieson, Ensign John Pennycuik, three sergeants, and sixty-two rank and file wounded. Shortly after the capture of Cornelis the colony surrendered.

The regiment remained in Java till September, 1816, when it embarked for Calcutta, greatly reduced in numbers by the insalubrity of the climate. On their voyage

the *Frances Charlotte*, one of the transports, with six companies on board, struck on a rock, on the morning of the fifth of November, about twelve miles from the small island of Prepares. In fifteen minutes the vessel, which stuck fast on the rock, was filled with water to the main-deck. In this emergency the seamen and troops preserved the greatest composure. All hopes of saving the ship being at an end, a few bags of rice and some pieces of pork were thrown into the boats along with the women, children, and sick, and sent to the island, where, from the heavy surf, great difficulty was experienced in landing. The boats did not return till the following morning. A part of the rock about 150 yards from the ship was dry at low water, and could hold 140 men. Thither that number were removed on a small raft with ropes to fix themselves to the points of the rock, in order to prevent their being washed into the sea by the waves, which dashed over the rock at full tide. It was not till the third day that all those on board the ship were transported to the island, and during all this time those on the rock remained without sleep and a very scanty supply of food and water which they received the second day.

Fortunately for the men on the rock the weather continued favourable, otherwise they must have perished. The *Po*, a country ship bound for Penang, appeared in sight the evening of the third day, and observing the perilous situation of the men on the rock, her commander sent a large boat which took forty men off the rock. A lesser boat was next sent, but too many men crowding on board the boat upset. The men, however, got back to the rock. From some cause not explained the commander of the *Po* did not wait for his boat, but proceeded on his voyage the same evening. The unfortunate sufferers remained on the

rock, enduring the greatest privations, till the morning of the tenth, when their drooping spirits were raised by the appearance of a large ship steering towards the island. She proved to be the *Prince Blucher*, Captain Weatherall. He immediately took all the men on board from the rock, and the following morning sent his boats to the island, which brought back the women and the sick; but the wind blowing fresh he was obliged to keep out to sea to avoid the rocks, and the wind increasing to a gale, Captain Weatherall, after beating about three days, bore away for Calcutta, afraid lest he might run short of provisions. On arriving there on the twenty-third of November the Marquis of Hastings, the governor-general, immediately despatched two vessels with provisions and clothes. They made the island of Prepares on the sixth of December. Some time before this the people on the island had been reduced to the miserable allowance of a glassful of rice and two ounces of bread, for two days, to each person; but everything in the shape of provisions having been expended they were trusting entirely to the precarious sustenance of a few shell-fish which they picked up at low water. In this wretched state the greatest subordination prevailed, and, though famine stared every man in the face, everything which could contribute to sustain life was brought by the finder and put into the general stock over which sentinels were placed. Notwithstanding the extreme suffering they endured, only five men died. Fourteen soldiers and two Lascars were drowned in the surf, by falling off the raft, in attempting to get on shore.

The men were immediately embarked, and had an expeditious voyage to Calcutta, where they landed on the twelfth of December. In February, 1817, they embarked for England on board the *Prince Blucher*,

Captain Weatherall, who had saved the lives of the people on the rock. The regiment sailed from India on the first of March and arrived at Portsmouth in June. It thence proceeded to Aberdeen, and in a few weeks was sent to Ireland.

Second Battalion of 1804

This battalion, to which allusion has been made in the preceding narrative, was raised in the year 1804. The officers were to raise men, in certain proportions, according to the rank they were to hold, viz., one hundred men for a lieutenant-colonelcy, ninety for a majority, fifty for a company, twenty-five for a lieutenancy, and twenty for an ensigncy. The officers were enjoined to recruit their men in Scotland, and, if possible, in the Highlands; but upwards of forty of the men raised were natives of England and Ireland.

The battalion, consisting of 850 men, of whom two hundred were raised in the island of Lewis alone, was assembled at Fort George in December, 1804, and inspected by Major-General the Marquis of Huntly, the late Duke of Gordon. The following is a list of the officers who were appointed.

Colonel — Major-General Alexander Mackenzie Fraser, of Castle Fraser, died a lieutenant-general in 1809.
Lieutenant-Colonel — Patrick Macleod (Geanies), killed in 1807 at El Hamet.

Majors

David Stewart (Garth), author of the "Sketches," died a major-general.
James Macdonell (Glengary), colonel and lieutenant-colonel Coldstream Guards.

Captains

Alexander Wishart.
Duncan Macpherson, major 78th regiment.
James Macvean.
Charles William Maclean.

Duncan Macgregor, lieutenant-colonel on half pay.
William Anderson.
Robert Henry Dick, lieutenant-colonel 42d regiment.
Colin Campbell Mackay (Bighouse), major on half pay.
George Mackay, ditto.

Lieutenants

William Balvaird, major rifle guard.
Patrick Strachan.
James Macpherson, killed in Java in 1813.
William Mackenzie Dick, killed in 1807 at El Hamet.
John Matheson, captain on half pay.
William Mackenzie, captain on half pay.
Malcolm Macgregor, captain 78th regiment.
James Mackay, captain on half pay.
Thomas Hamilton.
Robert Nicholson.
Charles Grant, captain on half pay.
Horace St. Paul, lieutenant-colonel on half pay.
George William Bowes.
William Matheson.
William Cameron, captain on half pay.
Cornwallis Bowen.

Ensigns

John Mackenzie Stewart, retired.
John Munro, killed in 1811 in Java.
Christopher Macrae, killed in 1807 at El Hamet.
Roderick Macqueen.
Neil Campbell, captain on half pay.
John L. Strachan.
Alexander Cameron.
Alexander Gallie.
Robert Burnet, captain 14th foot.

Paymaster — James Ferguson.
Adjutant — William Mackenzie, captain.
Quartermaster — John Macpherson, retired.
Surgeon — Thomas Draper, deputy-inspector.
Assistant Surgeon — William Munro, surgeon on half pay.

The battalion embarked at Fort George in February, 1805, and joined the brigade stationed at Hythe under General Moore, consisting of the 43d and 52d regiments, two of the best disciplined in the service at that time. During their stay at Hythe the men were instructed in military discipline under the immediate direction of Sir John Moore, assisted by the non-commissioned officers of his brigade; but before their discipline was completely confirmed they were ordered to Gibraltar, where a change of garrison was required by General Fox, the lieutenant-governor.

The regiment accordingly embarked at Portsmouth, along with the 42d, in September, 1805, both being under the command of the Honourable Major-General John Hope. In consequence of the bad weather, which occasioned such destruction after the battle of Trafalgar, the fleet took refuge in the Tagus, whence it sailed in the beginning of November and reached Gibraltar in a few days. The regiment remained at Gibraltar till May, when it was ordered for Sicily. When it arrived at Messina, Sir John Stuart, who, at the earnest solicitation of the Queen of Naples, had determined on an expedition to Calabria, felt disappointed, as, instead of the veteran 42d which he expected, he found a corps of boys; but, though his disappointment was great, it was not lasting.

The troops destined for the expedition embarked for Messina in the end of June, 1806. They consisted of the Grenadier and Light Infantry battalions, formed of all the Grenadier and Light Infantry companies of the army in Sicily (except those of the 78th, which remained with the regiment), together with the 27th, 58th, 78th, 81st, and Watteville's regiments, two companies of the Corsican Rangers, and a detachment of the Royal Artillery under Major Lemoine. The whole force embarked amounted to 4,200 men, which was afterward increased to 4,790, by the junction of the 20th regiment. In the absence of the admiral, Sir Sidney Smith, who was employed to the northward on the Neapolitan coast, the armament sailed from Melazzo, under convoy of Captain Brenton. It anchored on the first of July in the bay of St. Euphemia.

The army landed without opposition, but the Grenadiers, Light Infantry, and Highlanders, who were the first on shore, pushing forward in advance, met with some resistance from a body of the enemy, whom they

drove back. These troops were soon followed by the army, which took up a good position near the village of St. Euphemia. They remained in this position till the evening of the third, when, in consequence of information received, that General Regnier had advanced to the neighbourhood of the village of Maida with the intention of attacking the British the following morning, General Stuart, with the view of anticipating Regnier in his object, marched his troops along the edge of the bay till eleven o'clock at night, when he halted. Resuming his march next morning at daybreak, he crossed the mouth of the Amato, and halted on a large plain, where he drew up his little army in order of battle.

The army was brigaded as follows: — The Light brigade, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel James Kempt, consisted of the Light Infantry companies of the 20th, 27th, 35th, 58th, and 81st regiments, of two companies of Corsican Rangers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hudson Lowe, and of 150 picked men of the 35th regiment, under Major George Robertson. The first brigade, under Brigadier-General Auckland, was formed of the 78th and 81st regiments. The second, commanded by Brigadier-General Lowrie Cole, consisted of the Grenadier companies of the 20th, 27th, 35th, and 81st regiments, and of the 27th regiment, under the command of the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel O'Calloghan. The reserve was formed of the 58th and Watteville's regiment, under Colonel John Oswald.

In its formation for battle the army had the head of the bay of St. Euphemia in its rear, and in front a broad and extensive valley which runs across the Calabrian peninsula, from St. Euphemia to Cotrona on the Adriatic. This valley, which is level in the centre, is of unequal breadth, being in some places four and in others not more than two miles broad, and is intersected at

intervals, to nearly one-half its breadth, by high ridges, which run out at right angles from the hills which form the lateral boundaries of the plain. These mountains are precipitous in some places, with woods covering their sides in many parts, and in others with corn-fields, up to a considerable height. Harvest had begun, part of the corn having been cut down, and in different fields parties of the inhabitants were reaping. On the summit of one of the nearest of the collateral ridges, which was steep on the sides and covered with wood, but clear and level on the top, was the army of General Regnier, drawn up in columns at rather more than four miles' distance from the British line. It had been represented to General Stuart that the Calabrese, who had preserved unshaken their loyalty to the royal family of Naples, and had opposed the French invasion, would flock to his standard on landing in the peninsula; but he was mortified to find that these anticipations were unfounded, not more than a thousand having joined him, and these badly armed and worse disciplined. Notwithstanding this disappointment the general felt greatly disinclined to abandon the enterprise without giving the inhabitants a full opportunity for the display of their loyalty, and he therefore resolved to maintain his ground, and even to hazard a battle. His resolution to engage the enemy was hastened by intelligence which reached him that Regnier was about to receive a reinforcement of three thousand men. The French commander had in fact received this addition to his force, but the British general, unaware of the circumstance, made preparations for attacking him the following day.

General Regnier, from the elevated position on which he stood, could observe all the motions of the British, and count every file below, and seemed ready either to descend to the plains, or to await the attack. Relying

on his great superiority of numbers, the French general is said to have harangued his troops, expressing the confidence he reposed in their invincible courage, and his contempt for the English, whose temerity in landing with such a small force he was determined to punish by driving them into the sea. Full of this vain boasting, he gave orders to his army to march, which accordingly descended the hill in three columns, through narrow paths in the woods. In the plains below he formed his army, consisting of seven thousand men, with three hundred cavalry, and a large train of field artillery. He drew up his troops in two parallel lines of equal numbers, having artillery and cavalry on both flanks, and field-pieces placed in different parts of the line. To oppose this force, General Stuart placed in the front line the light brigade on the right, the 78th regiment in the centre, and the 81st on the left.

At eight o'clock in the morning the first line of the British advanced, and almost at the same moment the enemy moved forward, presenting a parallel front. The ground between the two armies was a perfect level intersected by small drains which had been made to carry off the water in the rainy season, and which obstructed the conveyance of the field-pieces. When the armies began to move forward they were distant nearly three miles from each other; but this distance was decreased in a double ratio by the forward movement of the opposing lines. Some reapers who were at work eagerly pointed out, as the first brigade passed over several corn-fields, the advance of the enemy, who were then scarcely a mile distant. On a nearer approach the French opened their field-pieces, but with little effect, as the greater part of the shot passed over the first line, and did not reach the second, which was a good way behind.

"This," says Major-General David Stewart, who was present, "was an interesting spectacle. Two armies in parallel lines, in march towards each other, on a smooth and clear plain, and in dead silence, only interrupted by the report of the enemy's guns; it was more like a chosen field fixed upon by a general officer for exercise, or to exhibit a sham-fight, than, as it proved, an accidental encounter, and a real battle. No two rival commanders could ever wish for a finer field for a trial of the courage and firmness of their respective combatants; and as there were some persons who recollected the contempt with which General Regnier, in his account of the Egyptian expedition, had chosen to treat the British, there was as much feeling mixed up with the usual incitements as, perhaps, in any modern engagement, excepting that most important of all modern battles, when Buonaparte, for the first and last time, met a British army in the field. To the young Highlanders, of whom nearly six hundred were under age, the officers, with very few exceptions, being equally young and inexperienced, it was a critical moment. If we consider a formidable line which, from numbers, greatly outflanked our first line, supported by an equally strong second line, the glancing of whose bayonets was seen over the heads of the first; the advance of so preponderating a force on the three regiments of the first brigade (the second being considerably in the rear) was sufficiently trying, particularly for the young Highlanders. Much depended on the event of the first onset; if that were successful, their native courage would be animated, and would afterward stand a more severe trial. In this mutual advance the opposing troops were in full view of each other, which enabled our men to make their remarks on the marching, and on the manner in which the enemy advanced. They did not always

preserve a correct steady line, but sometimes allowed openings and intervals by careless marching; showing, as the soldiers observed, that they did not march so steadily as they themselves did. Additional circumstances inspired still greater confidence. I have already noticed that the enemy's guns were not well served, and pointed too high; not so the British. When our artillery opened, under the direction of Major Lemoine, and Captain Dugal Campbell, no practice could be more perfect. Every shot told and carried off a file of the enemy's line. When the shot struck the line, two or three files, on the right and left of the men thrown down, gave way, leaving a momentary opening before they recovered and closed up the vacancy. The inexperienced young Highlanders, believing that all in the vacant spaces had been carried off, shouted with exultation at the evident superiority. This belief I endeavoured to strengthen by observation, tending to render the comparison more favourable and more strikingly conspicuous. It is not often that, in this manner, two hostile lines in a reciprocally forward movement, at a slow but firm pace, can make their observations while advancing with a seeming determination to conquer or perish on the spot. Those criticisms were, however, to be soon checked by the mutual forward movement on which they were founded. The lines were fast closing, but with perfect regularity and firmness. They were now within three hundred yards' distance; and a fire having commenced between the sharpshooters on the right, it was time to prepare for an immediate shock."

The enemy now seemed to hesitate, and halting at once, fired a volley. The British line also halted, and instantly returned the salute. Both sides reloaded, and exchanged a second volley. When the smoke had

cleared away, and the enemy became visible, the British line advanced at full charge. The enemy stood still as if determined to stand the shock; but appalled at length by the bold, steady, and firm advance of our line, they faced to the right about, and ran with rapidity, though without confusion, towards their second line. When near this line they halted, fronted, and opened a fire of musketry on the British line which had halted that the men might draw breath, and that any small breaks in the line might be closed up. The British line now again advanced, when a constant running fire took place on the march, the enemy retiring slowly as they fired. The enemy's first line being now thrown on the second, they appeared at last resolved to make a firm stand; but their hearts again failed them, and they fled a third time, but in greater confusion than before.

The enemy's cavalry now attempted to charge, but with all their exertions the dragoons could not bring their horses up. This was owing, it is believed, to a sharp running fire which was kept up in their faces. Finding all their endeavours ineffectual, the dragoons galloped round the flanks of the line to their rear, and dismounting from their horses, fought on foot.

The enemy continued to retire in the utmost confusion, their two lines being completely intermixed. After they had been driven back upwards of a mile, Regnier, who kept riding about during the retreat, evincing, by his violent gesticulations, the troubled workings of his mind, determined to make an effort to change the fortune of the day by an attempt to turn the left flank. With this intention he made an oblique movement to the British left with some battalions, and gained so much on that flank as to prevent the second line which had come up from forming the line in continuation. Brigadier-General Cole was therefore obliged to throw

back the left of his line, and to form in an angle of about sixty degrees to the front line, in which position he opened an excellently well-directed and destructive fire which quickly drove back the enemy with great loss. A circumstance however occurred, whilst this angular formation lasted, which gave the enemy a momentary advantage. This was owing to a mistake on the part of the young Highlanders, who, deceived by the dress of a Swiss regiment in the French service, commanded by an officer of the name of Watteville, which resembled, in some respects, the band of Watteville's regiment in the British service, slackened their fire, thinking that the Anglo-Swiss regiment, which was no other than the other Watteville regiment advancing from the French second line, had got to the front. As soon, however, as the mistake was pointed out, the Highlanders recommenced firing with such admirable effect, that in ten minutes the enemy were driven back with great precipitation. This fire was the more destructive, as the enemy, emboldened by the relaxation of the British fire, had come close to the line.

The movements of the light brigade remain to be noticed. When the opposing lines came within reach of each other's musketry, the two companies of the Corsican Rangers, who were on the right of the brigade, were sent out on the flank and in front to skirmish; but on the first fire from the enemy's sharpshooters, they retreated in great haste. Fortunately this repulse was confined to the Rangers, and the light company of the 20th regiment, who had the right of the line, moved forward, and instantly drove off the party which had advanced on the Corsicans. They had, however, the misfortune to lose Captain Maclaine, the only officer killed on that day. Shortly after this collision the two lines came within charge-distance, and the left of the

enemy pushing forward, both lines had nearly met, when, "at this momentous crisis, the enemy became appalled, broke, and endeavoured to fly, but it was too late; they were overtaken with the most dreadful slaughter."

The enemy had now been repulsed in every attempt, and had lost a great number of men; but General Regnier, still hoping to retrieve the disgrace of a total defeat, determined to make a desperate effort by assailing the left flank of the British. Before, however, he could carry his design into execution, the 20th regiment, which had disembarked in the bay from Sicily that morning, marched up and formed on the left nearly at right angles to General Cole's brigade. Lieutenant-Colonel Ross, — afterward killed in America, — being attracted by the firing, had moved forward with such celerity, that he reached the left of the line as the enemy were pushing round to turn the flank. He formed his regiment with his right, supported by the left of the 27th. The enemy, intimidated by the formidable appearance which the left flank now presented, did not venture to make their intended attempt, and were afraid even to encounter eighty men, whom Colonel Ross had ordered out in front to act as sharpshooters.

The enemy, now in utter despair, gave way at all points; they fled in the greatest confusion, and many of them, to accelerate their speed, threw away their arms, accoutrements, and everything which could impede their flight. The enemy fled with such rapidity, that few prisoners were taken, although pursued by the light infantry and the Highlanders. "Few things," as General Stewart observes, "increase a man's speed more effectually than the terror of a bayonet or bullet in his rear," and as the pursuers, who were greatly exhausted by the labours of the day, had not an equal

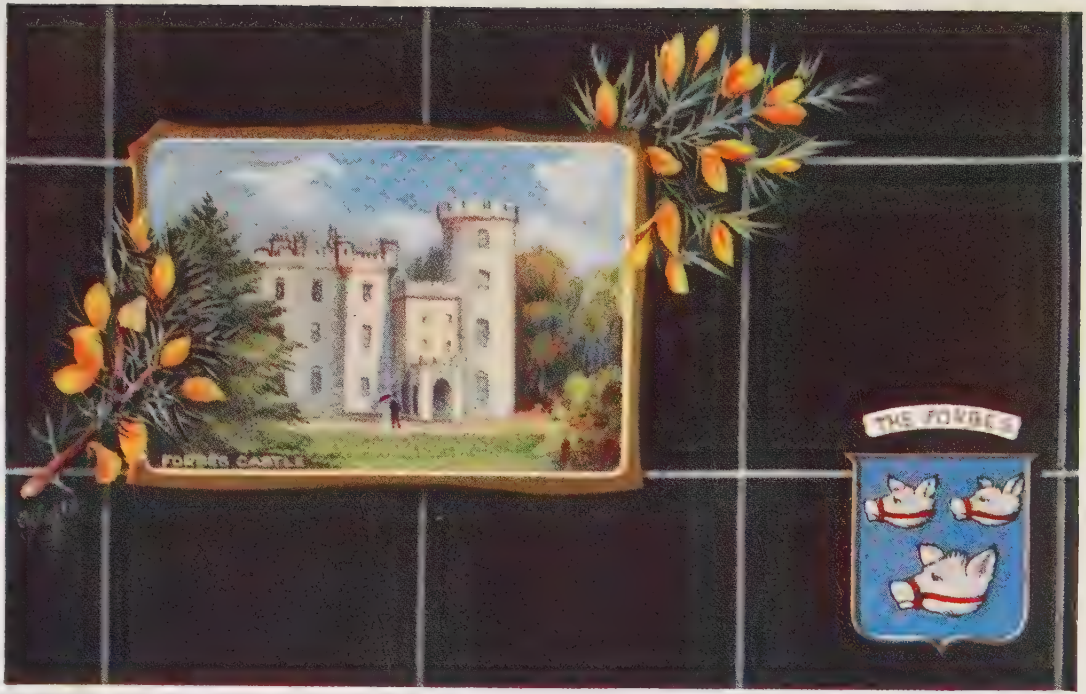
incitement to follow, the escape of the enemy is not to be wondered at. Had the cavalry, who arrived the day after the battle, been in the field, scarcely a man would have escaped. Nevertheless, the victory was one of the most complete ever gained. The loss of the French, compared with that of the British, was in the extraordinary disproportion of ninety to one, the French having had thirteen hundred killed, and the British only forty-one. The French left eleven hundred men wounded on the field, besides some hundreds who retired to their rear. The British had eleven officers, eight sergeants, and 261 rank and file wounded. Several of the wounded French were burnt to death by the stubble, which was long and rank, catching fire from the burning of the fusees of the guns and musket-cartridges. The loss of the Highlanders was seven rank and file killed; and Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Macleod, Major David Stewart, Captains Duncan M'Pherson, and Duncan M'Gregor, Lieutenant James Mackay, Ensigns Colin Mackenzie and Peter M'Gregor, four sergeants, one drummer, and sixty-nine rank and file wounded.

The defeat of the French is the more remarkable, as, whilst their whole force, amounting to 7,600 men, was brought into action, the whole of the British force engaged amounted only to 3,769 firelocks, besides fifty artillery men, and the victory may be said to have been won before the 29th came up.[1]

Had the Calabrese justified the expectations which had been formed of them by a general or even partial rising, the French might have been for ever expelled from their country; but no effort of any moment was made by them to second the British commander, who, for want of sufficient support, was obliged to abandon his design. After traversing the southern peninsula of Calabria, he embarked in August at Reggio for Sicily.

The malaria, so fatal at that season of the year, had by this time attacked some of the troops; but most of them fortunately escaped the contagion. In a few months, however, the army in Sicily suffered greatly from the ophthalmia, which was imported into the island by a reinforcement of troops from England under Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore. This disease, which had been carried into Great Brtiain by the troops which had been in Egypt in 1801, had now almost disappeared in the Mediterranean, and thus by some singular and mysterious process in nature, a malady, which had been considered peculiar to Egypt, and arising from the strong refraction of light from its burning sands, was brought back to the sunny regions of the Mediterranean, from the cold and cloudy climate of England and Scotland.

Early in 1807, an armament was fitted out in Sicily for the purpose of occupying Alexandria, Rosetta, and the adjoining coast of Egypt. The force on this occasion consisted of a detachment of artillery, the 20th light dragoons, the 31st, 35th, 78th, and De Rolle's regiment, and the corps of Chasseurs Britanniques, all under the command of Major-General Mackenzie Fraser. The expedition sailed on the sixth of March; but encountering bad weather, the *Apollo* frigate and nineteen transports were separated from the fleet. The remainder, with the commodore, anchored on the sixteenth off the Arabs' Tower to the west of Alexandria. General Fraser, in consequence of the absence of so large a proportion of his force, hesitated about landing; but being pressed by Major Misset, the British Resident, who informed him that the inhabitants were favourably disposed, and that there were not more than five hundred men in garrison, he disembarked his troops on the seventeenth and eighteenth.


THE FORBES

On the evening of the last mentioned day, the general moved forward for the purpose either of attacking the city, or of placing himself in nearer communication with the fleet, by going round to the eastward beyond Pompey's pillar. In this advance the troops forced an entrenchment with a deep ditch, having Fort de Bains on his right flank, mounted with thirteen guns, which played with little effect. On reaching Pompey's pillar, the general found the walls lined with troops, and as the garrison seemed fully prepared to receive him, he considered it more prudent, with the small force he had, to postpone his intended attack. He therefore proceeded farther to the eastward, and on the morning of the nineteenth took up a position on the same ground which the British army occupied in March, 1801. The town, on being summoned, surrendered the next day, and in the evening the other transports anchored in Aboukir Bay. Vice-Admiral Duckworth, with a fleet from the Dardanelles, arrived in the bay on the twenty-second.

On the twenty-seventh of March a detachment, under Major-General Wauchope and Brigadier-General Meade, took possession, without opposition, of the forts and heights of Aboumondour, a little above Rosetta. The capture of this place was the next object. This seemed an easy affair, as Rosetta had no available exterior defence; but from the narrowness of its streets, its flat-roofed houses, and small windows, it afforded facilities for internal defence, which were not perceived by General Wauchope. That officer, unconscious of danger, marched into the town at the head of the 31st regiment. Not a human being was to be seen in the streets, nor was a sound to be heard. The troops wended their way through the narrow and deserted streets towards an open space or market-place in the centre of the town;

but they had not proceeded more than half-way when the portentous silence was broken by showers of musketry from every house, from the first floor to the roof. Cooped up in these narrow lanes, the troops were unable to return the fire with any effect, nor, amidst the smoke in which they were enveloped, could they see their assailants, and could only guess their position from the flashes of their guns. They had, therefore, no alternative but to retire as speedily as possible; but before they had extricated themselves, General Wauchope was killed, and nearly three hundred soldiers and officers were killed and wounded. General Meade was among the wounded.

After this repulse the troops returned to Alexandria; but General Fraser, resolved upon the capture of Rosetta, sent back a second detachment, consisting of the 35th, 78th, and De Rolle's regiment, under the command of Brigadier-General the Hon. William Stewart and Colonel Oswald. This detachment, after some skirmishing, took possession of Aboumondour on the seventh of April, and on the following day Rosetta was summoned to surrender, but without effect. Batteries were therefore speedily erected, and a position was taken up between the Nile and the gate of Alexandria; but, from the paucity of the troops, it was found impossible to invest the town on all sides, or prevent a free communication across the Nile to the Delta. The batteries opened their fire; but with no other effect than damaging some of the houses, — a result which was regarded by the Turks and Albanians with extreme indifference.

The enemy having erected some batteries on the Delta for the purpose of taking the British batteries in flank, Major James Macdonell of the 78th, with 250 men, under Lieutenant John Robertson, and forty sea-

men from the Tigre, were detached on the sixteenth across the river, opposite to Aboumondour, to destroy these batteries. To conceal his movements, Major Macdonell made a considerable circuit, and coming upon the rear of the batteries at sunrise, attacked the enemy, and driving them from the batteries, turned the guns upon the town. But as the enemy soon collected in considerable force, he destroyed the batteries, and embarking the guns, recrossed the river with only four men wounded.

General Stewart had been daily looking for a reinforcement of Mamelukes from Upper Egypt; but he was disappointed in this expectation. In the meantime the enemy were increasing in numbers, and made several spirited attacks on the piquets and advanced posts between Lake Etko and El Hamet, a village on the Nile, nearly six miles above Rosetta. One of these piquets, commanded by Captain Rheinach of De Rolle's, was cut off, and the whole either killed or wounded. Whilst a detachment of De Rolle's, under Major Vogelsang of that regiment, occupied El Hamet, another detachment, consisting of five companies of the Highlanders, two of the 35th regiment, and a few cavalry and artillery under Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod, was sent on the twentieth to occupy a broad dike or embankment, which, with a dry canal, runs between the Nile and the lake Etko, a distance of about two miles. On reaching his destination, Colonel Macleod stationed his men, amounting to 720, in three divisions, with an equal number of dragoons and artillery between each. One of these he disposed on the banks of the Nile, another in the centre, and the third upon the dry canal.

Meanwhile the enemy were meditating an attack on the position, and on the morning of the twenty-first,

whilst numerous detached bodies of their cavalry began to assemble round the British posts, a flotilla of about seventy gherms or large boats full of troops was observed slowly descending the Nile. With the intention of concentrating his force, and of retreating if necessary to the camp at Rosetta, Colonel Macleod proceeded to the post on the right, occupied by a company of the 35th and the Highland grenadiers. He had not, however, sufficient time to accomplish this object, as the enemy left their boats with great rapidity; and whilst they advanced on the left and centre posts, their cavalry, with a body of Albanian infantry, surrounded the right of the position, and attacked it furiously on all points. Colonel Macleod formed his men into a square, which, for a long time, resisted every effort of the enemy. Had this handful of men been attacked in one or two points only, they might have charged the enemy; but they were so completely surrounded that they could not venture to charge to any front of the square, as they would have been assailed in the rear the moment they faced round. At every successive charge made by the cavalry, who attempted, at the point of the bayonets, to cut down the troops, the square was lessened, the soldiers closing in upon the vacancies as their comrades fell. These attacks, though irregular, were bold, and the dexterity with which the assailants handled their swords proved fatal to the British.

This unequal contest continued till Captain Macleod and all the officers and men were killed, with the exception of Captain Colin Mackay of the 78th and eleven Highlanders, and as many more of the 35th. With this small band, Captain Mackay, who was severely wounded, determined to make a desperate push to join the centre, and several succeeded in the attempt; but the rest were either killed or wounded. Captain Mackay received

two wounds, and was about reaching the post when an Arab horseman cut at his neck with such force that his head would have been severed from his body, had not the blow been in some measure neutralized by the cape of his coat and a stuffed neckcloth. The sabre, however, cut to the bone, and the captain fell flat on the ground, when he was taken up by Sergeant (afterward Lieutenant) Waters, who alone escaped unhurt, and carried by him to the post.

During their contest with the right, the enemy made little exertions against the other posts; but when, by the destruction of the first, they had gained an accession of disposable force, they made a warm onset on the centre. An attempt was at first made to oppose them; but the commanding officer soon saw that resistance was hopeless, and desirous of saving the lives of his men, he hung out a white handkerchief as a signal of surrender. The firing accordingly ceased, and the left following the example of the right, also surrendered. A general scramble of a most extraordinary kind now ensued amongst the Turks for prisoners, who, according to their custom, became the private property of the captors. In this *mêlèe* the British soldiers were pulled about with little ceremony, till the more active amongst the Turkish soldiery had secured their prey, after which they were marched a little distance up the river, where the captors were paid $7 for every prisoner they had taken. Some of the horsemen, less intent upon prize-money than their companions, amused themselves by galloping about, each with the head of a British soldier stuck upon the point of his lance.

In this disastrous affair the Highlanders had, besides Colonel Macleod, Lieutenant William Mackenzie Dick, Christopher Macrae, and Archibald Christie, four sergeants, two drummers, and sixty-one rank and file

killed; and Captain Colin Campbell Mackay, Ensign John Gregory, two sergeants, one drummer, and eighteen rank and file wounded.

When General Stewart was informed of the critical situation of Colonel Macleod's detachment, he marched towards Etko, expecting that it would retreat in that direction; but not falling in with it he proceeded to El Hamet, where on his arrival he learned its unfortunate fall. With a force so much reduced by the recent disaster, and in the face of an enemy emboldened by success and daily increasing in numbers, it was vain to think of reducing Rosetta, and therefore General Stewart determined to return to Alexandria. He accordingly commenced his retreat, followed by the enemy, who sallied out from Rosetta; but although the sandy plain over which he marched was peculiarly favourable to their cavalry, they were kept in effectual check by the 35th and the 78th. No further hostile operations were attempted; and the prisoners who had been sent to Cairo having been released by capitulation, the whole army embarked for Sicily on the twenty-second of September.

After returning to Sicily, the 78th joined an expedition under Sir John Moore, intended for Lisbon; but the regiment was withdrawn, and ordered to England, where they landed, and were marched to Canterbury in the spring of 1808. About this time several changes took place amongst the field-officers of the regiment. Lieutenant-Colonel Hercules Scott of the 1st battalion was removed to the 103d regiment, and was succeeded by Major John Macleod from the 56th. Major David Stewart was promoted to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the Royal West India Rangers, and was succeeded by Major Robert Hamilton from the 79th Highlanders.

Shortly after the return of the regiment to England, it obtained a considerable accession of recruits raised from several Scotch militia regiments, chiefly from that of Perthshire by Major David Stewart, who, in consequence of a wound received at Maida, had been obliged to return to Scotland. A detachment of four hundred men, including 350 of the newly raised men (of whom 280 were six feet and upwards, and of a proportionate strength of limb and person), was drafted to reinforce the second battalion in India, and embarked accordingly. The remainder of the second battalion was then removed from Little Hampton in Sussex, where they had been for a short time quartered, to the Isle of Wight, where they remained till August, 1809, when a detachment of 370 men, with officers and non-commissioned officers, was sent on the unfortunate expedition to Walcheren, being incorporated with a battalion commanded by the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Cochrane. The men suffered greatly from the fever and ague, which affected the rest of the troops, and were so emaciated that they did not recover their usual strength till the following year. Another draft of all the men fit for service in India was made in 1810, and joined the first battalion at Goa on the eve of the departure of the expedition against Batavia, in 1811.

The remains of the second battalion were now ordered to Aberdeen, where they remained nearly four years, during which time the officers endeavoured to fill up their ranks by recruiting. Their success, however, was by no means great, but their recruits were of the best quality, and Highlanders by birth. In December, 1813, the regiment embarked for Holland to join the army under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham, at which time it was four hundred strong.

In order to support the operations of the Prussian

General Bulow in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, General Graham moved forward part of his army; and an engagement took place between the Prussians and the French on the evening of the thirteenth of January, 1814, to the left of Merexem. This village could only be approached by the highroad, which entered at its centre, and the enemy had taken the precaution of posting a considerable force at this point. As the possession of Merexem was of great importance, Major-General Kenneth Mackenzie, with a detachment of the Rifle corps and the 78th regiment supported by the second battalion of the 25th, and the 33d regiment, was ordered to attack this post. The party advanced in column, the Highlanders leading, and both flanks were exposed to the fire of the enemy, who occupied the houses both to the right and left of the entrance into the village. The Highlanders moved forward with great intrepidity, and an "immediate charge with the bayonet by the 78th, ordered by Lieutenant-Colonel Lindsay, decided the contest." The enemy gave way at all points, and took refuge in Antwerp after sustaining a loss in killed, wounded, and drowned in the ditches, of about eleven hundred men. "No veterans," adds the British general, "ever behaved better than those men who then met the enemy for the first time. The discipline and intrepidity of the Highland battalion, which had the good fortune to lead the attack into the village, reflect equal credit on the officers and the men. The same spirit was manifested by the other troops employed."

In this affair the Highlanders had Lieutenant William Mackenzie, Ensign James Ormsby, and nine rank and file killed; and Lieutenant-Colonel John Macleod, who commanded a brigade, and Lieutenants William Bath and John Chisholm, and twenty-six rank and file wounded.

This was the only enterprise in which the Highlanders were engaged in the Netherlands. Their duties, until the return of the battalion to Scotland in 1816, were confined to the ordinary details of garrison duty at Brussels, Nieuport, and other places, where they acquired the esteem and confidence of the inhabitants. So popular were they with the population of Brussels, that when the 78th received orders to quit that town, the mayor was requested by the inhabitants to endeavour to detain the regiment. But this predilection was not confined to the 78th, for the 42d and the other Highland regiments who had served in the Netherlands were equally well esteemed by the natives. "They," the Highlanders, "were kind as well as brave;" "enfans de la famille;" "lions in the field and lambs in the house." Such were the kindly expressions which the Belgians employed when speaking of the heroes of the North.

Shortly after the return of the regiment to Scotland, the officers were put upon half pay, and all the men who were unable to serve any longer were discharged. The rest were stationed in Scotland till the return of the first battalion from India in summer, 1817.

CAMERON HIGHLANDERS

OR SEVENTY-NINTH REGIMENT

1793

This corps was raised by Allan Cameron of Errach, to whom letters of service were granted on the seventeenth of August, 1793. No bounty was allowed by government, as was the case with other regiments raised in this manner, the men being recruited at the sole expense of the officers. The regiment was inspected

at Stirling in February, 1794, and Mr. Cameron was appointed lieutenant-colonel commandant. Some time after the regiment was embodied, it was completed to a thousand men.

This regiment shared in the unfortunate campaign in Flanders, in 1794 and 1795, and in the summer of the last mentioned year it was ordered to the West Indies. The regiment having suffered considerably by a residence of two years in Martinique, an offer was made to the men in July, 1797, to volunteer into other corps, and such of them as were inclined to return to Europe were allowed to enter the 42d regiment, then under orders to embark for England. The officers and non-commissioned officers were to return to Scotland to recruit for another battalion. Two hundred and ten men volunteered into the 42d, and came home with that regiment in 1797; the rest entered other regiments, and remained in the West Indies.

By the exertions of Colonel Cameron and his officers who returned home with the fleet which brought the 42d to England, a fresh body of 780 men was raised. This newly-raised corps assembled at Inverness in 1798, and in the following year formed part of the expedition to the Helder. In this enterprise Captain James Campbell and thirteen rank and file were killed; and Colonel Cameron, Lieutenants Colin Macdonald, D. Macneil, Staer Rose, four sergeants, and fifty-four rank and file wounded.

In 1800 the regiment embarked for Ferrol, whence it proceeded for Cadiz, and joined the expedition under Sir Ralph Abercromby, destined for Egypt. The corps sustained little loss on this occasion, having had only one sergeant killed; Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Macdowall, Captain Samuel Macdowall, Lieutenants George Sutherland, John Stewart, Patrick Ross, Volunteer

Alexander Cameron, two sergeants, and nineteen rank and file were wounded.

In 1804 a second battalion was added, and in 1808 the regiment embarked for Portugal, and entering Spain with the army under Sir John Moore, followed all his movements till he fell at Corunna. The regiment was next employed in the expedition to Zealand under the Earl of Chatham, and in 1810 embarked for Spain. In the battle of Busaco, which took place on the twenty-seventh of September that year, the regiment had seven men killed, and Captains Neil Douglas and Alexander Cameron, and forty-one rank and file wounded. In the severe action at Fuentes de Honor on the third of May, 1811, the regiment acquired a high reputation for bravery, having mainly contributed to repulse a formidable column of Massena's army in one of his most desperate assaults on that village. Lieutenant-Colonel Philip Cameron, eldest son of Colonel Cameron, Captain William Imlach, and four rank and file, were killed on this occasion; and Lieutenant James Calder and seventeen rank and file wounded. At Villa Formosa, on the fifth of the same month and year, the 79th had one sergeant and twenty-six rank and file killed; and nine officers, five sergeants, and 121 rank and file wounded.

The casualties of the regiment at the siege of Burgos, during the months of September and October, 1812, were as follows, viz., two officers, Majors the Honourable E. Cocks and Andrew Laurie, one sergeant, and seventeen rank and file killed; and three officers, Lieutenants Hugh Grant, Angus Macdonald, K. J. Leslie, five sergeants, one drummer, and eighty-seven rank and file wounded. In the passage of the Nivelle, on the tenth of November, 1813, the regiment had only one man killed, and Lieutenant Alexander Robertson and five

men wounded. In the subsequent passage of the Nive in December following, the 79th was particularly conspicuous from the well-directed fire which it kept up, which " was more destructive to the enemy than almost any similar instance of the kind during these campaigns." The Cameron Highlanders had five men killed, and Ensign John Thomson, two sergeants, and twenty-four rank and file wounded, in crossing that river.

In the battle of Toulouse the 79th particularly distinguished themselves. Their loss was severe: Captains Patrick Purves (only son of Sir Alexander Purves) and John Cameron, and Lieutenants Duncan and Ewen Cameron, sixteen rank and file having been killed; and Captains Thomas Mylne, Peter Innes, James Campbell, William Marshall, Lieutenants William Macbarnet, Donald Cameron, James Fraser, Duncan Macpherson, Ewen Cameron, senior, Ewen Cameron, junior, John Kynock, Charles Macarthur, Allan Macdonald, Ensign Allan Maclean, Adjutant Alexander Cameron, twelve sergeants, two drummers, and 165 rank and file having been wounded.

The regiment returned to England on the termination of hostilities, and, after the return of Napoleon from Elba, it embarked for Flanders. At Quatre Bras the 79th was in brigade with the 28th, 32d, and 95th regiments, under Major-General Kempt. This brigade, along with that of Major-General Pack, consisting of the Royal Scots, the 42d, 44th, and 92d regiments, was ordered by the Duke of Wellington to preserve this important position, supported by a brigade of Hanoverians, the Brunswick cavalry and infantry, and a corps of Belgians. Marshal Ney's corps, which was very strong, was drawn up in an almost parallel position. The two armies were divided by a plain, part of which was covered

by a thick wood (Bois de Boissu), and the part which was clear of wood with corn.

General Kempt's brigade, formed into separate columns of regiments, extended on the plain to the left, and was first attacked by the enemy in great force. These were firmly met by the battalions, who successfully resisted repeated attempts of cavalry and infantry to break them. As the enemy continued to push forward fresh troops, the 42d and 44th were ordered out on the plain to support General Kempt's brigade. A desperate conflict now ensued, each battalion of the British having to sustain, in several instances separately and independently, the whole weight of the French masses which bore down upon them. In this arduous struggle the Cameron Highlanders supported the reputation they had acquired in the Peninsular war; for, not satisfied with repelling the enemy, they advanced upon them, and drove them off the ground, still preserving, however, a regularity of formation which enabled them to meet every fresh attack. They received the attacks of the enemy sometimes in position, and at other times they advanced to meet the charge of the French infantry, who uniformly declined the onset. The charges of the cavalry were received in squares and always repulsed.

In this hard-fought action the 79th suffered considerably. Adjutant Kynock and twenty-eight rank and file were killed; and no less than fifteen officers, ten sergeants, and 248 rank and file wounded. These officers were Lieutenant-Colonel Neil Douglas; Majors Andrew Brown, Donald Cameron; Captains Thomas Mylne, William Marshall, Malcolm Fraser, John Sinclair, Neil Campbell; Lieutenants Donald Macphee, Thomas Brown, William Maddock, William Leaper, James Fraser, W. A. Reach; and Ensign James Robertson.

At Waterloo Major-General Kempt's brigade, with the

28th and 32d regiments, formed the centre of Lieutenant-General Picton's division. A corps of Belgians and part of the Rifle brigade occupied a hedge, in the rear of which, at the distance of 150 yards, the 32d and 79th were stationed. About two hours after the commencement of the battle three heavy columns of the enemy, preceded by artillery and sharpshooters, advanced towards the hedge. The Belgians fired a volley and retired in great disorder. The enemy then began to deploy into line, but before they could complete this operation the 32d, 79th, and Rifle corps pushed forward, and, forming upon the hedge, fired a volley, charged the enemy, and threw them into confusion. In an attempt to get towards their right the enemy were received by the 28th, which warmly attacked their right as they advanced. The 32d and 79th followed up their advantage, each attacking the column opposed to them, till at length the enemy gave way in the greatest confusion. At this moment General Picton was killed and General Kempt severely wounded; but although unable, from the severity of the wound, to sit on horseback, the latter would not allow himself to be carried off the field. The enemy rallied, and renewed their attempts to gain possession of the hedge, but without success.

The loss of the regiment was severe, arising chiefly from the artillery and sharpshooters, whose distance enabled them to take a deliberate aim. Lieutenants D. Macpherson and E. Kennedy, two sergeants, and twenty-seven rank and file were killed; and Captains James Campbell, Neil Campbell, John Cameron (the two last died of their wounds); Lieutenants John Fowling, Donald Cameron, Ewen Cameron, Alexander Cameron, Charles Macarthur, Alexander Forbes; Ensigns John Nash, A. S. Crawford; seven sergeants, four drummers, and 121 rank and file wounded.

STRATHSPEY REGIMENT

The following is a summary of the casualties in the regiment, from the time it was embodied down to the eighteenth of June, 1815, embracing a period of twenty-two years: —

	KILLED
Officers	12
Non-commissioned officers	5
Rank and file	144
	161

	WOUNDED
Officers	70
Non-commissioned officers (including 7 drummers)	55
Rank and file	902
	1027

Grand total, killed and wounded . 1188

STRATHSPEY REGIMENT

OR NINETY - SEVENTH

1794

After Sir James Grant had embodied a regiment of Fencibles, of which a short notice will be found in the account of the Fencible corps, he applied for and obtained leave to raise a regiment of the line. Within the stipulated time he raised one thousand men, the required number, but many of them were from the manufacturing districts in the Lowlands, and inferior to the class of men who constituted the Fencible regiment. There were, however, some very good men amongst them, and, according to General Stewart, the flank companies were excellent.

The regiment was inspected and embodied at Elgin by Major-General Sir Hector Munro, and being ordered to the south of England in 1794, was sent on board Lord Howe's fleet in the channel, in which they served

as marines for a few months. In autumn, 1795, the men and officers were drafted into different regiments, and the flank companies into the 42d when about to embark for the West Indies.

ARGYLESHIRE HIGHLANDERS

OR NINETY-EIGHTH, NOW THE NINETY-FIRST REGIMENT

1794

This regiment was raised by Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, who was appointed lieutenant-colonel commandant thereof, in virtue of letters of service dated tenth February, 1794. The regiment was embodied at Stirling in the autumn of that year.

The 98th was ordered to the Cape of Good Hope, where it remained till 1801. In 1798, the number of the regiment was changed to the 91st, and in 1809 the Highland garb was laid aside. The 91st was employed in the Peninsular war, and took a conspicuous part in the series of brilliant actions from the Pyrenees to Toulouse.

GORDON HIGHLANDERS

OR NINETY-SECOND REGIMENT

1794

The Marquis of Huntly, whilst a captain in the 3d Foot Guards, having offered to raise a regiment for general service, letters of service were granted to him for this purpose on the tenth of February, 1794. In his zeal for the service the marquis was backed by his father and mother, the Duke and Duchess of Gordon, both of whom, along with the marquis himself, recruited in

their own persons. The result was that, within the short space of four months, the requisite number of men was raised, and on the twenty-fourth of June the corps was inspected at Aberdeen by Major-General Sir Hector Munro, and embodied under the denomination of the Gordon Highlanders. Three-fourths of the men were Highlanders, chiefly from the estates of the family of Gordon; the other fourth was from the Lowlands of Aberdeenshire and the neighbouring counties. The officers appointed were:

Lieutenant-Colonel commandant — George, Marquis of Huntly.

Majors

Charles Erskine of Cadross, killed in Egypt in 1801.
Donald Macdonald of Boisdale, died in 1795.

Captains

Alexander Napier of Blackstone, killed at Corunna in 1809.
John Cameron Fassafern, killed at Quatre Bras, 16th June, 1815.
Honourable John Ramsay, son of Lord Dalhousie.
Andrew Paton.
William Mackintosh of Aberarder, killed in Holland in 1799.
Alexander Gordon, son of Lord Rockville, killed at Talavera in 1808, lieutenant-colonel 83d regiment.
Simon Macdonald of Morer.

Captain-lieutenant — John Gordon, retired as major.

Lieutenants

Peter Grant, died in 1817, major on half pay.
Archibald Macdonell, died in 1813, lieutenant-colonel of veterans.
Alexander Stewart.
Sir John Maclean, major-general, K. C. B., 1825.
Peter Gordon, died 1806.
Thomas Forbes, killed at Toulouse in 1814, lieutenant-colonel of the 45th regiment.
Ewan Macpherson.
George H. Gordon.

Ensigns

Charles Dowle, died of wounds in Egypt in 1801.
George Davidson, killed at Quatre Bras in 1815, then captain in the 42d regiment.
Archibald Macdonald.
Alexander Fraser, killed 2d October, 1799.

William Tod.
James Mitchell, lieutenant-colonel in 1815, retired in 1819.

Chaplain — William Gordon.
Adjutant — James Henderson, died in 1796.
Quartermaster — Peter Wilkie, died in 1806.
Surgeon — William Findlay, died in Egypt in 1801.

The regiment embarked at Fort George on the ninth of July, and joined the camp on Netley Common in the month of August, when it was put on the list of numbered corps as the 100th regiment. On the fifth of September the Gordon Highlanders embarked for Gibraltar, where they remained till the eleventh of June, 1795, when they were ordered to Corsica. Whilst in that island they had a detachment in Elba. The regiment returned to Gibraltar in September of the following year, and in the spring of 1798 embarked for England, where they arrived about the middle of May.

The stay of the regiment in England was short, having soon after its arrival been ordered to Ireland, in consequence of the unfortunate troubles in that misgoverned country. The duties of this service were most arduous, as the men were kept in a state of almost continual motion. On one occasion the regiment, when under the command of General Moore, marched ninety-six *Irish miles*, in three successive days, with arms, ammunition, and knapsacks. During its stay in Ireland the regiment was "exemplary in all duties; sober, orderly, and regular in quarters," a character which they had maintained whilst in garrison at Gibraltar and Corsica; and such was the estimation in which the corps was held in Ireland, that an address was presented to the Marquis of Huntly by the magistrates and inhabitants when the regiment was about to leave one of its stations in that island. They observed that "peace and order were re-established, rapine had dis-

appeared, confidence in the government was restored, and the happiest cordiality subsisted since his regiment came among them."

The Gordon Highlanders remained in Ireland until June, 1799, when they embarked for England, to join an armament then preparing for the coast of Holland. The number of the regiment was changed about this time to the 92d, the former regiment of that number, and others, having been reduced.

The first division of the army landed on the morning of the twenty-seventh of August without opposition; but the troops had scarcely formed on a ridge of sand-hills, at a little distance from the beach, when they were attacked by the enemy, who were however driven back, after a sharp contest of some hours' duration. The 92d, which formed a part of General Moore's brigade, was not engaged in this affair; but in the battle which took place at Bergen on the second of October it took a very distinguished share. General Moore was so well pleased with the heroic conduct of the corps on this occasion, that, when he was made a knight of the Bath, and obtained a grant of supporters for his armorial bearings, he took a soldier of the Gordon Highlanders in full uniform as one of his supporters, and a lion as the other. In the action alluded to the 92d had Captain William Mackintosh, Lieutenants Alexander Fraser, Gordon Machardy, three sergeants, and fifty-four rank and file killed; and Colonel the Marquis of Huntly, Captains John Cameron, Alexander Gordon, Peter Grant, John Maclean, Lieutenants George Fraser, Charles Chadd, Norman Macleod, Donald Macdonald, Ensigns Charles Cameron, John Macpherson, James Bent, G. W. Holmes, six sergeants, one drummer, and 175 rank and file wounded.

Returning to England, the regiment was again em-

barked on the twenty-seventh of May, in the year 1800, and sailed for the coast of France; but no landing took place, and the fleet proceeded to Minorca, where the 92d disembarked on the twentieth of July. It formed part of the expedition against Egypt, the details of which will be found in the account of the service of the 42d regiment. The Gordon Highlanders particularly distinguished themselves in the battle of the thirteenth of March, 1801. The British army moved forward to the attack in three columns of regiments; the 90th, or Perthshire regiment, led the advance of the first or centre column, and the Gordon Highlanders that of the second or left, the reserve marching on the right, covering the movements of the first line, and running parallel with the other two columns. The enemy were strongly fortified on a rising ground, and well appointed with cavalry and artillery. As soon as the regiments in advance had cleared some palm and date trees they began to deploy into line; but before the whole army had formed the enemy opened a heavy fire of cannon and musketry, and descended from the heights to attack the 92d, which had by this time formed in line. The fire was quickly returned by the Gordon Highlanders, who not only firmly maintained their ground singly against the attacks of the enemy supported by a powerful artillery, but drove them back with loss. In this action the 92d had nineteen rank and file killed; and Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Erskine (who afterward died of his wounds), Captains the Honourable John Ramsay, Archibald Macdonald, Lieutenants Norman Macleod, Charles Doule (both of whom also died of their wounds), Donald Macdonald, Tomlin Campbell, Alexander Clarke (the two last died of their wounds), Ronald Macdonald, Alexander Cameron, Ensign Peter Wilson, ten sergeants, and one hundred rank and file wounded.

The regiment had suffered much from sickness, during the voyage from Minorca to Egypt, and with this and its recent loss in battle it was so reduced in numbers that General Abercromby ordered it to the rear on the night of the twentieth of March, in order to take post upon the shore at Aboukir. Major Napier, on whom the command of the 92d had devolved in consequence of the death of Colonel Erskine, did not, however, remain long in this position, but hurried back as soon as he heard the firing and assumed his former place in the line. The regiment was but little engaged, and lost only three rank and file killed; and Captain John Cameron, Lieutenant Stewart Matheson, and thirty-seven rank and file wounded.

In a short time the regiment recovered its health and shared in all the movements of the army in Egypt till the termination of hostilities, when it embarked for Ireland, and landed at Cork on the thirtieth of January, 1802. They were next removed to Glasgow, where they remained until the renewal of hostilities in 1803, when they were marched to Leith, and embarked for the camp which was then forming at Weeley. At this time a second battalion of one thousand men was embodied, raised under the Army of Reserve Act, in the counties of Nairn, Inverness, Moray, Banff, and Aberdeen. This corps served as a nursery to the regiment during the war.

The regiment formed part of the expedition sent against Copenhagen in 1807, and served in Sir Arthur Wellesley's brigade. The only instance which offered on this occasion to the regiment to distinguish itself was a spirited and successful charge with the bayonet, when they drove back a greatly superior number of the enemy. In the year 1808 the regiment embarked for Sweden under Sir John Moore; and immediately upon the re-

turn of the expedition to England the troops employed were ordered to Portugal under the same commander. The 92d accompanied all the movements of General Moore's army, and had the misfortune to lose its commanding officer, Colonel Napier of Blackstone, who was killed at Corunna. On that occasion Lieutenant Archibald Macdonald was wounded, and afterward died of his wounds. The regiment had only three rank and file killed, and twelve wounded.[2]

On its return to England the regiment was quartered at Weeley, where it received a reinforcement of recruits, which increased the strength of the corps to rather more than one thousand men. This number was, however, greatly reduced in the Walcherin expedition; but the loss was speedily supplied by recruits from the second battalion. The regiment embarked for Portugal on the twenty-first of September, 1810, and joined the British army under Lord Wellington at the lines of Torres Vedras the following month.

The service of the 92d in the Spanish Peninsula and the south of France, is so blended with the operations of Lord Wellington's army, that, to give a complete idea of it, it would be necessary to enter into details which the limited space allotted to this division of the history will not admit of. It may, however, be observed here, that, in all the actions in which they were engaged, the Gordon Highlanders upheld the high military reputation which they had acquired in Egypt, and supported the honour of their native country in a manner worthy of Highlanders. The heroic conduct of the corps in Belgium must, however, receive a more lengthened notice.

At Quatre Bras the 92d, which, with the Royal Scots, the 42d, and 44th regiments, formed Major-General Pack's brigade, was drawn up in line along a

ditch bounding the great Namur road, having the farm of Quatre Bras on their right, and the Hanoverian brigade and Brunswick infantry on their left, but a little to the rear. The Brunswick cavalry, covered by a few field-pieces, were drawn up on the road. After this disposition had been made, the Duke of Brunswick, at the head of the Brunswick Hussars, pushed forward to check a column of French cavalry considerably in advance of the main body; but he was unfortunately killed, and the enemy taking advantage of the confusion into which the loss of their brave commander threw the Brunswickers, charged with great energy, and forced them to retire precipitately in the direction of the ditch along which the Gordon Highlanders were drawn up unperceived by the enemy. As soon as the cavalry came within reach, the Highlanders opened a well-directed and destructive fire upon them from behind the ditch. This unexpected attack completely disconcerted the enemy, who, thrown into irretrievable disorder by repeated volleys of musketry, fled in the utmost confusion, after sustaining a severe loss in killed and wounded.

For three hours the allies had to contend against the most fearful odds, and had to sustain sometimes together, and sometimes in separate battalions, a series of desperate charges made by an enemy confident of victory; but at six o'clock in the evening the arrival of a reinforcement from Brussels lessened the great disparity of force, and put both parties upon a more equal footing. A brigade of Guards, part of this reinforcement, was stationed on the right of Quatre Bras, and the other brigades on the left. The enemy now commenced a general discharge from a numerous artillery, which was so stationed as to cover the whole of the British line. They continued the cannonade for an hour, when they

advanced in two columns, the one by the high road, the other through a hollow along the skirts of a thick wood (Bois de Boissu). Unperceived by the allies the enemy had already taken possession of a house on the Charleroi road, some hundred yards from the village; and had also occupied a garden and several thickset hedges near to the house. The Gordon Highlanders were no sooner informed of this than they instantly resolved to dispossess the enemy; and whilst one party, headed by Colonel Cameron, rapidly moved forward on the road, another party pushed round by their right. The enemy were so well covered by the garden and hedges that it required great exertions to dislodge them; but the Highlanders at last succeeded, not, however, till they had lost their brave commander, Colonel Cameron, and other valuable lives. After driving the enemy, who were greatly more numerous than their assailants, from this post, the Highlanders pursued them more than a quarter of a mile, until checked by the advance of a large body of French cavalry and infantry, preceded by artillery. Unable to resist this formidable force the Highlanders retired along the edge of the wood of Boissu to their original position. Marshal Ney, having failed in every attempt to force the allies from their position, and despairing of success, finally desisted from the attack at nine o'clock in the evening, leaving the allies in possession of the ground they had occupied at three o'clock, when the battle commenced.

Besides their colonel, the 92d lost, in this action, Captain William Little, Lieutenant J. J. Chisholm, Ensigns Abel Becker and John M. R. Macpherson, two sergeants, and thirty-three rank and file. The wounded officers were, Major James Mitchell (afterward lieutenant-colonel), Captains G. W. Holmes, Dougald Campbell, W. C. Grant (who died of his wounds), Lieutenants

Thomas Hobbs, Thomas Mackintosh, Robert Winchester, Ronald Macdonnell, James Kerr Ross, George Logan, John Mackinlay, George Mackie, Alexander Macpherson, Ewen Ross, Hector M'Innes, Ensigns John Barnwell, Robert Logan, Angus Macdonald, Robert Hewit, and Assistant-Surgeon John Stewart; also thirteen sergeants, one drummer, and 212 rank and file.

On the morning of the seventeenth Lord Wellington had collected the whole of his army in the position of Waterloo, and was combining his measures to attack the enemy; but having received information that Marshal Blucher had been obliged, after the battle of Ligny, to abandon his position at Sombref and to fall back upon Wavre, his lordship found it necessary to make a corresponding movement. He accordingly retired upon Genappe, and thence upon Waterloo. Although the march took place in the middle of the day the enemy made no attempt to molest the rear, except by following with a large body of cavalry, brought from his right, the cavalry under the Earl of Uxbridge. On the former debouching from the village of Genappe, the earl made a gallant charge with the Life Guards and repulsed the enemy's cavalry.

Lord Wellington took up a position in front of Waterloo. The rain fell in torrents during the night, and the morning of the eighteenth was ushered in by a dreadful thunder-storm; a prelude which superstition might have regarded as ominous of the events of that memorable and decisive day.

The allied army was drawn up across the highroads from Charleroi and Nivelles, with its right thrown back to a ravine near Merke Braine, which was occupied, and its left extended to a height above the hamlet Ter-la-Haye, which was also occupied. In front of the right centre, and near the Nivelles road, they oc-

cupied the house and farm of Hougoumont, and in front of the left centre they possessed the farm of La Haye Sainte. The Gordon Highlanders, who were commanded by Major Donald Macdonald, in consequence of the wound of Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, who had succeeded Colonel Cameron in the command, were in the ninth brigade with the Royal Scots, the Royal Highlanders, and the 44th regiment. This brigade was stationed on the left wing upon the crest of a small eminence, forming one side of the hollow, or low valley, which divided the two hostile armies. A hedge ran along this crest for nearly two-thirds its whole length. A brigade of Belgians, another of Hanoverians, and General Ponsonby's brigade of the 1st or Royal Dragoons, Scotch Greys, and Inniskillings, were posted in front of this hedge. Bonaparte drew up his army on a range of heights in front of the allies, and about ten o'clock in the morning he commenced a furious attack upon the post at Hougoumont. This he accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon the whole line of the allies; but it was not till about two o'clock that the brigades already mentioned were attacked. At that time the enemy, covered by a heavy fire of artillery, advanced in a solid column of three thousand infantry of the guard, with drums beating, and all the accompaniments of military array, towards the position of the Belgians. The enemy received a temporary check from the fire of the Belgians and from some artillery; but the troops of Nassau gave way, and, retiring behind the crest of the eminence, left a large space open to the enemy. To prevent the enemy from entering by this gap, the third battalion of the Royal Scots, and the second battalion of the 44th, were ordered up to occupy the ground so abandoned; and here a warm conflict of some duration took place, in which the two regiments

lost many men and expended their ammunition. The enemy's columns continuing to press forward, General Pack ordered up the Highlanders, calling out, "Ninety-second, now is your time; charge." This order being repeated by Major Macdonald, the soldiers answered it by a shout. Though then reduced to less than 250 men, the regiment instantly formed two men deep, and rushed to the front, against a column ten or twelve men deep, and equal in length to their whole line. The enemy, as if appalled by the advance of the Highlanders, stood motionless, and upon a nearer approach they became panic-struck, and, wheeling to the rear, fled in the most disorderly manner, throwing away their arms and everything that incumbered them. So rapid was their flight, that the Highlanders, notwithstanding their nimbleness of foot, were unable to overtake them; but General Ponsonby pursued them with the cavalry at full speed, and cutting into the centre of the column, killed numbers and took nearly eighteen hundred prisoners. The animating sentiment, "Scotland for ever!" received a mutual cheer as the Greys galloped past the Highlanders, and the former felt the effect of the appeal so powerfully, that, not content with the destruction or surrender of the flying column, they passed it, and charged up to the line of the French position. "Les braves Ecossais; qu'ils sont terribles ces Chevaux Gris!" exclaimed Napoleon, when, in succession, he saw the small body of Highlanders forcing one of his chosen columns to fly, and the Greys charging almost into his very line.

During the remainder of the day the 92d regiment remained at the post assigned them, but no opportunity afterward occurred of giving another proof of their prowess. The important service they rendered at a critical moment, by charging and routing the *élite* of

the French infantry, entitle them to share largely in the honours of the victory. "A column of such strength, composed of veteran troops, filled with the usual confidence of the soldiers of France, thus giving way to so inferior a force, and by their retreat exposing themselves to certain destruction from the charges of cavalry ready to pour in and overwhelm them, can only be accounted for by the manner in which the attack was made, and is one of the numerous advantages of that mode of attack I have had so often occasion to notice. Had the Highlanders, with their inferior numbers, hesitated and remained at a distance, exposed to the fire of the enemy, half an hour would have been sufficient to annihilate them, whereas in their bold and rapid advance they *lost only four men.* The two regiments, which for some time resisted the attacks of the same column, were unable to force them back. They remained stationary to receive the enemy, who were thus allowed time and opportunity to take a cool and steady aim; encouraged by a prospect of success, the latter doubled their efforts; indeed, so confident were they, that when they reached the plain upon the summit of the ascent, they ordered their arms, as if to rest after their victory. But the handful of Highlanders soon proved on which side the victory lay. Their bold and rapid charge struck their confident opponents with terror, paralyzed their sight and aim, and deprived both of point and object. The consequence was, as it will always be in nine cases out of ten in similar circumstances, that the loss of the 92d regiment was, as I have just stated, only four men, whilst the other corps in their stationary position lost eight times that number."

At Waterloo the 92d regiment had one drummer and thirteen rank and file killed; and six officers, three

sergeants, and nineteen rank and file wounded. The officers were Captains Peter Wilkie and Archibald Ferrier, Lieutenants Robert Winchester, Donald Macdonald, James Kerr Ross, and James Hope.

From the period of its formation in 1794, down to the close of the battle of Waterloo, embracing a period of twenty-two years, the total loss of the regiment was as follows:

Officers, killed	12
Officers, wounded	100
	112
Rank and file, killed	238
Rank and file, wounded	1261
	1499

This loss in rank and file is not so great as that sustained by the 42d during the same period, which amounted to 1764, although the 92d was twenty-six times in battle, whereas the 42d was only eighteen times engaged. The latter regiment, on the whole, however, lost fewer officers, having had nineteen killed and eighty-four wounded.

SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS

OR NINETY-THIRD REGIMENT

1800

In May, 1800, Major-General Wemyss of Wemyss received letters of service to raise a regiment of six hundred men, with instructions to endeavour to prevail on the men who had served in the Sutherland Fencible corps, of which he had been colonel, and which had been disbanded about eighteen months before, to enter the

new regiment. General Wemyss succeeded in raising 460 men in Sutherland, and the remainder were drawn from Ross and the adjoining counties. The regiment was soon augmented to eight hundred, and afterward to one thousand men, with officers in proportion. The numerical strength of the regiment, including non-commissioned officers, in the year 1811, was 1,049, of whom 1,014 were Highlanders and Lowlanders, seventeen were Irish, and eighteen English.

The 93d, when raised, was inspected by Major-General Hay at Inverness in the month of August, 1800, and in September embarked for Guernsey. It remained there about two years, when it was ordered to Ireland, where it continued till July, 1805, when it joined the armament against the Cape of Good Hope, under Major-General Sir David Baird.

The expedition sailed early in August, and, after a boisterous voyage, arrived and anchored in Table Bay on the fourth of January, 1806. The troops formed two brigades, one of which, consisting of the 24th, 38th, and 83d regiments, was under the command of Brigadier General Beresford; the other, called the Highland brigade, comprehending the 71st, 72d, and 93d regiments, was commanded by Brigadier-General Ronald C. Ferguson. On the fifth, General Beresford, who had been detached to Saldanha Bay, in consequence of the violence of the surf in Table Bay, effected a landing there without opposition, and on the sixth the Highland brigade landed in Lospard Bay, after a slight resistance from a small body of light troops stationed on the adjoining heights. In landing, thirty-five men of the 93d were unfortunately drowned by the upsetting of a boat in the surf, and Lieutenant-Colonel Pack of the 71st and a few men were wounded.

Having landed his stores on the seventh, General

Baird moved forward the following day, and ascending the summit of the Blaw-Berg (Blue Mountain), he found the enemy, to the number of about five thousand men, drawn up in two lines on a plain, with twenty-three pieces of cannon. Forming his troops quickly in two columns he thereupon directed Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Baird, who commanded the first brigade, to move with that brigade towards the right, whilst the Highland brigade, which was thrown forward upon the high-road, advanced against the enemy. Apparently resolved to retain their position, the enemy opened a heavy fire of grape, round shot, and musketry, which was kept up warmly as the British approached, till General Ferguson gave the word to charge. This order was obeyed with the accustomed alacrity of the Highlanders, who rushed upon the enemy with such impetuosity as at once to strike them with terror. After discharging the last volley without aim or effect, the enemy turned their backs and fled in great confusion, leaving upwards of six hundred men killed and wounded. The loss of the British was only sixteen men killed and 191 wounded. The 93d had only two soldiers killed, and Lieutenant-Colonel Honeyman, Lieutenants Scobie and Strachan, Ensigns Hedrick and Craig, one sergeant, one drummer, and fifty-one rank and file wounded. After this victory the colony surrendered.

The Sutherland Highlanders remained in garrison at the cape till the year 1814, when they embarked for England. They landed at Plymouth in August of that year, and on the following month joined the troops under Major-General Keane, then about to embark for North America. The fleet sailed on the eighteenth of September, and, at Jamaica, joined the squadron under Vice-Admiral the Honourable Alexander Cochrane, with 3,500 troops on board. The united

forces (the command of which was now assumed by General Keane) amounted to 5,400 men. With this force he sailed from Jamaica on the twenty-seventh of November, and on the thirteenth of December landed near Cat Island, at the entrance of a chain of lakes leading to New Orleans. On the twenty-third the troops landed without opposition at the head of the Bayone; but were attacked on the following night by a large body of infantry, supported by a strong corps of artillery. After a spirited contest the enemy were repulsed with loss. On the twenty-seventh Major-General the Honourable Sir Edward Pakenham, who had arrived and assumed the command of the army on the twenty-fifth, moved the troops forward in two columns, and took up a position within six miles of the town, in front of the enemy's lines. The position of the Americans was particularly favourable, having a morass and a thick wood on their left, the Mississippi on their right, and a deep and broad ditch in front, bounded by a parapet and breast-works, extending in a direct line about a thousand yards, and mounted with artillery, and a flanking battery on the right bank of the river.

Being joined by the 43d regiment on the seventh of January, 1815, General Pakenham resolved to attack the enemy in front, and as a diversion detached a force under Colonel Hamilton, with the 85th regiment, across the river, to take the enemy in flank and attack some vessels which supported their right. The attack was, according to the arrangements made, to be led by General Gibbs, with the King's Own, Scotch Fusileers, 44th regiment, and three companies of the Rifle corps; — these were to be supported by the Sutherland Highlanders, with two companies of the English Fusileers, two of the 43d, and two of the Rifle corps, forming the second brigade, under General Keane; and the English

Fusileers and 43d regiment were to form the reserve. In order to occupy the attention of the enemy on the right, and to keep up a skirmishing fire, a party of black troops were ordered to the wood on the right flank. To enable the troops to cross the ditch, fascines and rafts were prepared, and scaling ladders were also provided, to enable them to mount a parapet raised upon the inner bank of the ditch. The attack was to have been made on the eighth before daybreak; but, owing to some unexpected difficulties, it was long after sunrise before the troops could advance to the attack. This was an unfortunate occurrence, as they were thus exposed, whilst crossing an open plain which lay between them and the enemy's position, to the full view of the enemy, who opened a heavy fire from his whole line, and likewise from a battery upon the right bank of the river. If they could have got over the ditch they might have attained their object, but unluckily they had left their fascines and rafts in the rear, and on reaching the ditch found it impassable. Unable to advance, and exposed to a destructive fire from an enemy beyond their reach and completely covered, the troops began to waver, and at last retired in great confusion, after sustaining a very severe loss. Besides the brave Generals Pakenham and Gibbs (the latter of whom died of his wounds), three field-officers, five captains, four subalterns, eleven sergeants, one drummer, and 266 rank and file, were killed; and one general officer (Keane), ten field-officers, twenty-one captains, forty-seven subalterns, one staff-officer, fifty-four sergeants, nine drummers, and 1,126 rank and file, wounded. The 93d lost one field-officer, two captains, two sergeants, and fifty-eight rank and file, killed; and four captains, eight subalterns, seventeen sergeants, three drummers, and 348 rank and file, wounded.

The British troops retired to the post they had occupied before the action, in which they remained until the eighteenth, when they retired to the head of the Bayone, where they first landed, having previously embarked all the wounded who were in a state to be removed, along with the artillery and stores. The army reëmbarked on the twenty-seventh of January, and as peace soon afterward ensued, the troops were ordered home. On their arrival in England the 93d was ordered to Ireland, and landed at Cork on the twenty-eighth of May, 1815.

In point of moral worth, honourable feeling, and all the other qualities which constitute good soldiers and citizens, the Sutherland Highlanders may challenge comparison with any of the other Highland corps. In one respect, indeed, circumstances placed them in a more advantageous position; for, whilst a temporary relaxation of military discipline crept into some regiments by an admixture of improper persons in the ranks, the Sutherland Highlanders preserved an unvaried and uniform line of good conduct. In the light infantry company not a single man was punished for nineteen years; a remarkable circumstance, when it is considered that such companies are frequently the most irregular, the men being selected more for their personal appearance than for their good character. The other companies of the regiment were equally remarked for excellent character.

Amongst the good qualities which distinguished this exemplary corps, a strong feeling of religion was particularly observed. "The Sutherland men," says General Stewart, "were so well grounded in moral duties and religious principles, that when stationed at the Cape of Good Hope, and anxious to enjoy the advantages of religious instruction agreeably to the tenets of their

national church, and there being no religious service in the garrison, except the customary one of reading prayers to the soldiers on parade, the men of the 93d regiment formed themselves into a congregation, appointed elders of their own number, engaged and paid a stipend (collected from the soldiers) to a clergyman of the church of Scotland (who had gone out with an intention of teaching and preaching to the Caffres), and had divine service performed conformably to the ritual of the established church. Their expenses were so well regulated, that, whilst contributing to the support of their clergyman from the savings of their pay, they were enabled to promote that social cheerfulness, which is the true attribute of pure religion and of a well-spent life. Whilst too many soldiers were ready to indulge in that vice, which, more than any other, leads to crime in the British army, and spent much of their money in liquor, the Sutherland men indulged in the cheerful amusement of dancing, and in their evening meetings were joined by many respectable inhabitants, who were happy to witness such scenes amongst the common soldiers in the British service. In addition to these expenses the soldiers regularly remitted money to their relations in Sutherland." With this drain upon their scanty allowance, they even accumulated considerable sums during the eight years they remained at the cape, and shortly after their arrival at Plymouth in August, 1814, upwards of £500 were deposited in one banking-house, to be remitted to Sutherland, exclusively of other remittances through the post office and by officers. In several cases individual soldiers sent home as much as £20 each.

When embarking from the Cape of Good Hope, General Craddock, now Lord Howden, in alluding to " the respect and esteem of the inhabitants, with their

regret at parting with men who will ever be borne in remembrance as kind friends and honourable soldiers," thus expressed himself: — "The commander of the forces anxiously joins in the public voice, that so approved a corps, when called forth into the more active scenes that now await them in Europe, will confirm the well-known maxim, that the most regular and best conducted troops in quarters are those who form the surest dependence, and will acquire the most renown in the field." When reviewed in Ireland on its return from North America, the regiment, according to the general officer who reviewed it, exhibited "a picture of military discipline and moral rectitude;" — and although the junior regiment in his Majesty's service, it displayed "an honourable example, worthy the imitation of all."

FENCIBLE CORPS

The plan of raising Fencible corps in the Highlands was first proposed and carried into effect by Mr. Pitt (afterward Earl of Chatham) in the year 1759. During the three preceding years both the fleets and armies of Great Britain had suffered reverses, and to retrieve the national character, great efforts were necessary. In England county militia regiments were raised for internal defence in the absence of the regular army; but it was not deemed prudent to extend the system to Scotland, the inhabitants of which, it was supposed, could not yet be safely entrusted with arms. Groundless as the reasons for this caution undoubtedly were in regard to the Lowlands, it would certainly have been hazardous at a time when the Stuarts and their adherents were still plotting a restoration to have armed the clans. An exception, however, was made in favour

of the people of Argyle and Sutherland, and accordingly letters of service were issued to the Duke of Argyle, then the most influential and powerful nobleman in Scotland, and the Earl of Sutherland to raise, each of them, a Fencible regiment within their districts. Unlike the militia regiments which were raised by ballot, the Fencibles were to be raised by the ordinary mode of recruiting, and like the regiments of the line, the officers were to be appointed, and their commissions signed by the king. The same system was followed at different periods down to the year 1799, the last of the Fencible regiments having been raised in that year.

The following is a list of the Highland Fencible regiments according to the chronological order of the commissions: —

1. *The Argyle Fencibles of* 1759

The commissions of the officers of this corps were dated in the month of July, 1759. The regiment, which consisted of one thousand men, was raised in three months. Of thirty-seven officers, twenty-two were of the name of Campbell. The regiment was quartered in different parts of Scotland, and reduced in the year 1763.

2. *The Sutherland Fencibles of* 1759

Though the commissions of the officers were dated in the month of August, this regiment was raised several weeks before that of Argyle, eleven hundred men having assembled at the call of the Earl of Sutherland, on the lawn before Dunrobin castle, within nine days after his lordship's arrival in Sutherland with his letters of service. "The martial appearance of these men," says

General Stewart, "when they marched into Perth in May, 1760, with the Earl of Sutherland at their head, was never forgotten by those who saw them, and who never failed to express admiration of their fine military air. Some old friends of mine, who often saw these men in Perth, spoke of them with a kind of enthusiasm. Considering the abstemious habits, or rather the poverty of the Highlanders, the size and muscular strength of the people are remarkable. In this corps there was no light infantry company; upwards of 260 men being above five feet eleven inches in height, they were formed into two grenadier companies, one on each flank of the battalion." This regiment was reduced in May, 1763.

3. *The Argyle or Western Fencibles of* 1778

This corps was raised by Lord Frederick Campbell, who had been appointed colonel, and it was embodied in Glasgow in April, 1778. Of the men, seven hundred were raised in Argyleshire and other parts of the western Highlands; the rest were recruited in Glasgow and the southwest of Scotland. Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglas was appointed lieutenant-colonel, and Mr. Montgomery of Coilsfield, afterward Earl of Eglintoun, major. The regiment was reduced in 1783.

4. *The Gordon Fencibles of* 1778

This regiment, which consisted of 960 men, was raised by the late Duke of Gordon on his estates in the counties of Inverness, Moray, Banff, and Aberdeen. It was embodied at Aberdeen, and reduced in 1783. During the five years this regiment was embodied, only twenty-four men died.

5. *The Sutherland Fencibles of* 1779

The family of Sutherland being now represented by a female, and an infant (afterward the Duchess-Countess of Sutherland), and no near relative of the name to assume the command of this regiment, William Wemyss of Wemyss, nephew of the last earl, was appointed colonel. With the exception of two companies from Caithness, commanded by William Innes of Sandside, and John Sutherland of Wester, the recruits were raised on the Sutherland estates; and so desirous were the men of Sutherland of entering the regiment, that in the parish of Farr alone, 154 were enlisted in two days. In February, 1779, the regiment was embodied at Fort George, whence it marched southward, and was stationed in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh during the part of its service. It was reduced in 1783.[3]

6. *The Grant or Strathspey Fencibles* — 1793

The late Sir James Grant of Grant, whose memory is deservedly cherished by all who knew him, having offered to raise a regiment, he obtained permission to do so, and two months after the declaration of war by France, the Grant Fencibles were assembled at Forres in the end of April, 1793. With the exception of forty-one Scottish Lowlanders, three Englishmen, and two Irishmen, the regiment consisted of Highlanders. On the fifth of June it was embodied and inspected by Lieutenant-General Leslie, marched to the southward in August, and quartered successively in most of the towns in the south of Scotland.

Whilst stationed at Dumfries, in 1795, a mutiny broke out amongst the Strathspey Highlanders. A spirit of jealousy and distrust of their officers had taken

deep root in the breasts of the men, in consequence of an attempt that had been made the preceding year at Linlithgow, to induce them to extend their service, which was confined to Scotland. They erroneously conceived that there was a design to entrap them; a suspicion which appears to have originated in the conduct of the officers, some of whom did not explain the nature of the proposals to their men, whilst others entirely mistook their import and meaning. For a time the good understanding between the officers and the men appeared to have returned; but an incident which occurred at Dumfries rekindled the dying embers of dissension, and led to the most unpleasant consequences. A soldier in the ranks having made a jocular remark, which was considered as offensive by the officers, he and some of his comrades, who appeared to enjoy the joke, were put into confinement, and threatened with punishment. This injudicious step aroused the feelings of the Highlanders, who considered themselves as insulted and disgraced in the persons of the prisoners, and they could not endure that such a stain should "attach to themselves and their country from an infamous punishment for crimes, according to their views, not in themselves infamous in the moral sense of the word." The consequence was, that many of the soldiers, in open defiance of their officers, broke out, and released the prisoners.

After this unfortunate affair, the regiment was marched to Musselburgh, when Corporal James Macdonald, and Privates Charles and Alexander Mackintosh, Alexander Fraser, and Duncan Macdougall, were tried, and being found guilty of mutinous conduct, condemned to be shot. The corporal's sentence was restricted to a corporal punishment. The four privates were marched out to Gullane Links, East Lothian, on

the sixteenth of July, 1795, and when they had arrived on the ground they were told that only two were to suffer, and that the two Mackintoshes would be permitted to draw lots. They accordingly drew, when the fatal one fell on Charles, who, with Fraser, was immediately shot in presence of the Scotch brigade (afterward the 94th regiment) and the Sutherland, Breadalbane, and Grant Fencibles. The others were ordered to join regiments abroad.

No other act of insubordination occurred in the regiment, which was reduced in the year 1799.

7. *The Breadalbane Fencibles* (*Three Battalions*), 1793 *and* 1794

The late Earl of Breadalbane, moved by the same patriotic feeling which actuated the late Sir James Grant, offered to raise two Fencible regiments, which were completed in the summer of 1793. A third battalion was embodied a few months thereafter, under an arrangement, that its service, if necessary, should be extended to Ireland. The number of men raised was 2,300, of whom sixteen hundred were obtained from the estate of Breadalbane alone.

A mutiny, similar in every respect in its cause, object, and consequences, to that of the Strathspey Fencibles, occurred amongst the Breadalbane Fencibles, at Glasgow, in 1795. Measures were taken to secure the ringleaders; but so many of the men were concerned, that it was found almost impossible to make a proper distinction. The difficulty was however solved by some of the soldiers themselves, who, becoming sensible of their error, with a noble and high-minded feeling, voluntarily offered to stand trial, and

to abide the issue. They were accordingly sent to Edinburgh castle, tried, and four of their number condemned to be shot, but only one, Alexander Morland, suffered. He was shot on Musselburgh Sands.

An anecdote of one of these men, related by General Stewart, affords a striking illustration of the faithfulness of the Highlanders in fulfilling obligations. On the march to Edinburgh, this man stated to Major Colin Campbell, who commanded the party, that he knew what his fate would be, but that he had left business of the utmost importance to a friend in Glasgow, which he wished to transact before his death; that as to himself he was fully prepared to meet his fate, but, with regard to his friend, he could not die in peace unless the business was settled; and that if the officer would permit him to return to Glasgow, he would join his comrades before they reached Edinburgh. He added, "You have known me since I was a child; you know my country and kindred, and you may believe I shall never bring you to any blame by a breach of the promise I now make, to be with you in full time to be delivered up in the castle." Major Campbell, a very judicious and humane man, was startled at this extraordinary proposal; but having perfect confidence in the prisoner, he complied with his request. The soldier, accordingly, returned to Glasgow at night, transacted his business, and left the town before daylight to redeem his pledge. To avoid observation, he made a circuitous route through woods and over hills, which retarded him so much, that he did not appear at the appointed hour. Major Campbell, on reaching the neighbourhood of Edinburgh without his prisoner, was greatly perplexed. He had indeed marched slowly forward, but no soldier appeared; and unable to delay any longer, he entered the city, marched up to the castle, and as he was deliver-

ing over the prisoners, but before any report had been given in, Macmartin, the absent soldier, rushed in amongst his fellow-prisoners, all pale with anxiety and fatigue, and breathless, with apprehension of the consequences in which his delay might have involved his benefactor.

The first and second battalions of the Breadalbane Fencibles were discharged in 1799 along with the Grant, Gordon, Sutherland, Rothsay, Caithness (1st battalion), Argyle, and Hopetoun Fencible regiments, whose services were limited to Scotland. The third battalion was sent to Ireland in 1795, and remained in that country till 1802, when it was reduced.

8. *The Sutherland Fencibles of* 1793

This regiment, which mustered at the call of the Countess of Sutherland, was embodied at Fort George. Colonel Wemyss, who had commanded the regiment of 1779, was appointed colonel, and the Honourable James Stuart, brother of the Earl of Moray, lieutenant-colonel. The numerical strength of the corps was 1,084 men, with drummers and pipers. This contained a company from Ross-shire, commanded by Mr. Macleod of Cadboll.

In 1797 the regiment extended its services to Ireland; but, with the exception of one skirmish, no opportunity offered for distinguishing itself in the field. The conduct of the Sutherland Fencibles, in that distracted and till now misgoverned country, was most exemplary; and it was said of them, that "their conduct and manners softened the horrors of war, and they were not a week in a fresh quarter, or cantonment, that they did not conciliate and become intimate with the people." The regiment was reduced at the period mentioned. It

was from the disbanded ranks of this corps that the 93d regiment was principally formed.

9. *The Gordon Fencibles of* 1793

The late Duke of Gordon's commission as colonel of this regiment, was dated the third of March; and not long after this the regiment was raised and embodied at Aberdeen. The uniform was the full Highland garb. The duke raised upwards of three hundred men on his estates in Strathspey, Badenoch, and Lochaber, and about an equal number was recruited on the neighbouring estates. About 150 more were raised in the Lowlands of Aberdeen, Banff, and Elgin. In 1794 it was removed to England, having agreed to extend its service. The Gordon Highlanders were reviewed by George III in Hyde Park. The regiment was disbanded, along with the other Fencible regiments, in 1799.

10. *Argyle Fencibles of* 1793

Letters of service, dated the first of March, were issued to the Marquis of Lorn to raise this corps. It was shortly afterward embodied at Stirling, and after six years' service, was reduced in 1799.

11. *The Rothsay and Caithness Fencibles* (*Two Battalions*), 1794 *and* 1795

Letters of service were granted to the late Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, to raise a Fencible regiment, whose services should extend to England. The present corps was accordingly formed, and as both officers and men were principally natives of Caithness, it was at first called the Caithness Fencibles; but the

Prince of Wales having granted permission that Rothsay, his chief title in Scotland, should be added, the battalion was afterward called the Rothsay and Caithness Fencibles. Another reason for this conjunction was, that the counties of Bute and Caithness then sent alternately a member to represent them in Parliament.

This regiment was assembled at Inverness in October, 1794, and embodied by Lieutenant-General Sir Hector Munro. The corps attracted particular notice from the majestic stature of the officers, nineteen of whom averaged six feet in height. The uniform of the regiment was a bonnet and feathers, with a plaid thrown across the shoulders, and tartan pantaloons in imitation of the trews, surmounted with a stripe of yellow along the seams, a fringe of tartan on the outside of the thigh, and the same round the ankle. This battalion was reduced in 1799.

A second battalion was raised by Sir John Sinclair in 1795, and embodied by Lieutenant-General Hamilton at Forfar, in the May of that year. The service of this regiment was extended to Ireland. This corps was more mixed than the first; only about 350 men from Caithness and Sutherland having entered the regiment. The establishment and uniform of the battalion was the same as the first. The regiment was soon after its formation removed to Ireland, where it remained several years. In 1799 the regiment was augmented to a thousand effective men, under the designation of the Caithness Highlanders, with officers in proportion.

Of the exemplary conduct of the regiment, some idea may be formed from the following extract of an address presented to Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser of Culduthill, who commanded the regiment several years in Ireland, by a meeting of the magistrates of the county of Armagh,

in the year 1798, the Lord Viscount Gosford, the governor, in the chair: — "We beg leave to testify our highest approbation of the conduct of the Rothsay and Caithness Fencibles, during a period of fourteen months, and under circumstances of peculiar difficulty. Divided, from the unfortunate necessity of the times, into various cantonments, and many of them stationed in a manner most unfavourable to military discipline, they yet preserved the fidelity of soldiers, and the manly rectitude of their national character. It is with pleasure and satisfaction we declare that the tranquillity which this county is now happily beginning to enjoy must, in many respects, be ascribed to the ready obedience and proper deportment of the officers and men under your command. For reasons thus honourable to them, and grateful to ourselves, we return you our most sincere thanks, and request you will communicate to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, this testimony of our esteem, and acknowledgment of their exemplary conduct."

In 1797 the regiment, with the exception of about fifty men, volunteered their services to any part of Europe. In the summer of 1800 two hundred men volunteered into the 79th and 92d regiments. As an ensign was to be appointed to every fifty men who should volunteer from the Fencible regiments, four officers from the Caithness Highlanders obtained commissions in the 79th and 92d of the line.

The Caithness Fencibles returned to Scotland in 1802, and were reduced the same year.

12. *The Dumbarton Fencibles* — 1794

This regiment was raised by Colonel Campbell of Stonefield, agreeably to orders, dated the eleventh day

of October, 1794, and was inspected and reported complete by Major-General Sir James Stewart, in the summer of the following year. Colonel Campbell was appointed its colonel.

The regiment was first stationed in Guernsey, and in 1797 was removed to Ireland, being reduced to five hundred men the previous year. Mr. Maclaine of Lochbuy, the lieutenant-colonel, was removed to the Argyle Fencibles, on the transference of the regiment to Ireland, and was succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel Scott.

The Dumbarton Fencibles were actively employed during the Irish rebellion. They were particularly noticed by Sir John Moore, who, after the rebellion was crushed, stationed them as a light infantry corps in the mountains under his own eye, and such was his confidence in them, that he selected a detachment of this regiment to guard four hundred prisoners sent to Prussia, "as the service required confidential and trustworthy men."

The regiment returned to Scotland in 1802, and was reduced the same year.

13. *The Reay Fencibles* — 1794

Amongst other districts fixed on by government for raising Fencible corps at the commencement of the late French war, that of "Lord Reay's country," the residence of the Clan Mackay, was selected. The chief of that clan, the then Lord Reay, being, from mental imbecility, incapable of acting, Hugh Mackay Baillie of Rosehall, was appointed colonel, and the late George Mackay of Bighouse, lieutenant-colonel of the regiment ordered to be raised.

Notwithstanding the unfortunate state of their chief the clan came readily forward, and in a few weeks a body of eight hundred Highlanders, of whom seven hundred had the word *Mac* prefixed to their names, was assembled.

In March, 1795, the regiment was embodied by Sir Hector Munro at Fort George, whence it immediately proceeded to Ireland, where it soon acquired the confidence of Generals Lake and Nugent. The former was particularly attached to the Reay Fencibles, and, after the defeat of Castlebar, he frequently exclaimed, "If I had had my brave and honest Reays there, this would not have happened." The only opportunity they had of proving their firmness in the unhappy service in which they were engaged was at Tara Hill, on the twenty-sixth of May, 1798, where, in conjunction with two troops of Lord Fingal's and the Tower Hill yeomanry, three companies of the Reays, under Captain Hector Maclean, an experienced officer, who had served thirty years in the 42d, attacked a large body of rebels, and drove them from their strong and elevated position, with a loss of about four hundred killed and wounded. In this affair the Reays had twenty-six men killed and wounded.

The regiment, whose conduct was most exemplary, returned to Scotland in 1802, and was disbanded at Stirling the same year. In dismissing the regiment Major-General Baillie took the "opportunity of expressing his highest approbation of the uniform good conduct of the regiment since it was embodied," reflecting "with pride and satisfaction on the many opportunities that occurred to evince the loyalty, good discipline, distinguished gallantry, and persevering attention of all ranks, to the good of the service."

14. *The Inverness-shire Fencibles* — 1794

On the twenty-first of November letters of service were issued to Major Baillie of Duncan to raise a Fencible corps of six hundred men whose service should extend to the whole of Great Britain and Ireland. Major Gordon Cumming of Pitlurg was appointed to the permanent post of lieutenant-colonel by Colonel Baillie, who had that privilege conferred on him.

The regiment was completed in October, 1795, and was embodied at Inverness under the name of the Loyal Inverness Fencible Highlanders, though there were only about 350 Highlanders in the corps. The uniform was the full Highland garb, and it was observed that some young Welshmen (about forty), who had joined the ranks, were more partial to the plaid than the Lowlanders of Aberdeen and Perth.

The regiment was immediately ordered to Ireland, and with such haste that the men were despatched without clothing or arms, of which, however, they received a supply at Glasgow on their route. The regiment was actively employed during the rebellion, and conducted themselves in that unfortunate service with as much forbearance as circumstances would admit of. Colonel Baillie died in 1797, and was succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel Cumming Gordon.

In compliment to the good behaviour of the corps its designation was changed, after the suppression of the rebellion, to the "Duke of York's Royal Inverness-shire Highlanders." The establishment of the regiment was increased, and in 1801 the whole corps offered to extend its service to any part of the world. In March, 1802, the regiment was disbanded at Stirling.

15. *The Fraser Fencibles* — 1794

In consequence of the advanced age of the then chief of the Clan Fraser (youngest son of the last Lord Lovat, and brother of the late General Fraser), James Fraser of Belladrum, who had served under his chief in Canada during the Seven Years' War, was appointed to raise this regiment. It was completed in the spring of 1795, and was inspected and embodied at Inverness on the fourteenth of June same year. Three hundred of the men bore the name of Fraser, chiefly from the Aird and Stratherrick. With the exception of thirty Scottish Lowlanders, and eighteen English and Irish, who had formerly served in the army, the rest of the corps were from the countries in the neighbourhood of these districts.

The regiment was ordered to Ireland, where it arrived on the first of August. In November, 1797, Simon Fraser, the younger of Lovat, was appointed colonel, in consequence of the resignation of Belladrum. The Fraser Fencibles were present in the unfortunate affair at Castlebar, and had the other corps behaved like them on that occasion the result would have been different. They were the last to retreat. A Highland Fraser sentinel was desired by his friends " to retreat with them, but he heroically refused to quit his post, which was elevated, with some little steps leading to it. He loaded and fired five times successively, and killed a Frenchman at every shot; but before he could charge a sixth time, they rushed on him."

During this trying service the Fraser Fencibles conducted themselves with great propriety. " The general character of the corps," says Major Fraser of Newton, an able and intelligent officer, " was excellent; they had a high degree of the *esprit de corps;* were obedient,

Loch Rannoch

Photogravure from the Painting by Fleming

active, and trusty; gaining the entire confidence of the generals commanding, by whom they were always stationed in the most distracted districts, previous to and during the rebellion. Many attempts were made to corrupt them, but in vain; no man proved unfaithful. The men were not in general large, but active, well-made, and remarkable for steady marching, never leaving any stragglers, even on the quickest and longest march."

This regiment was reduced at Glasgow in July, in the year 1802.

16. *The Glengarry Fencibles* — 1794

Singular as the circumstance may appear, the idea of raising this corps originated with the Rev. Alexander Macdonell, a Catholic priest, now Bishop of Kingston in Upper Canada. As the details connected with its formation are curious and interesting, they may not be out of place in a work of this nature.

The trade between the river Clyde and the North American colonies, particularly in tobacco, having been greatly injured by the peace which secured the independence of these colonies, the merchants of Glasgow and Greenock turned their attention to the importation and manufacture of cotton, and so rapid was the growth in this branch of industry, that, in 1792, about eighty thousand persons were employed in it, in the counties of Lanark, Renfrew, and Dumbarton. The great demand for labour increased the number of hands, and the price of provisions of all kinds, particularly of meat; and the Highlanders, finding a ready market and high prices for that kind of produce, considered that it would be more advantageous to turn their bleak and barren

mountains into sheep-walks than to allow them to be occupied by a number of small tenants, who could scarcely procure from the soil subsistence for themselves, were they even to pay no rent to the landlord.

The feudal system, which, in the Highlands of Scotland, was based upon the mutual interest of the chieftain and the vassal, being now dissolved, the Highland chief saw no reason why he should any longer sacrifice his interest to the pride of reckoning a numerous clan. He, therefore, determined to rid himself of his poor tenantry, and to substitute, in their place, substantial and industrious farmers and shepherds, from the southern parts of Scotland. Hence it was not uncommon to see from one to two hundred families turned adrift, and the farms which they had occupied converted into one sheep-walk, for the accommodation of a south country shepherd; or, as it was termed in that country, a hundred and fifty or two hundred smokes went through one chimney. The poor people, thus dispossessed of their small farms, and compelled to dispose of their stock for little or nothing, because there was no one to purchase it but those who supplanted them, and who thought it fair to take every advantage they could of them, found themselves in the most helpless and distressed situation. They had never travelled beyond the limits of their native valleys and mountains; they neither understood nor spoke any other language but their mother tongue; and they were perfect strangers to the ways and manners of the world. The few who could muster means to pay their passage to America, whither many of them were desirous to emigrate, were afraid to enter on the sea, covered as it then was with privateers; besides which, the British cruisers and ships of war had positive orders from the admiralty to prevent the departure of emigrants from the Highlands of Scotland, and to press

such able-bodied men as they found on board emigrant ships. These orders were, on some occasions, carried into execution; but it frequently happened that the officers who boarded the ships and beheld the pitiable state of the emigrants could not prevail upon themselves to tear the father and husband from the wife and children; for had they done so, they would have been the instruments of the most ruinous and fatal consequences to the Highlanders.

It was in this conjuncture that Doctor Macdonald, then a missionary on the borders of the counties of Inverness and Perth, in the highest inhabited parts of the Highlands of Scotland, affected by the distressed state of his countrymen, and hearing that an emigrant vessel which had sailed from the Island of Harris had been wrecked and had put into Greenock, where she landed her passengers in the most helpless and destitute situation, repaired in the spring of the year 1792 to Glasgow. Having procured an introduction to several of the professors of the university and the principal manufacturers of that city, he proposed to the latter that the Highlanders who had been turned out of their farms, and those lately escaped from shipwreck, should enter into their works, provided they (the manufacturers) would give them encouragement. This they readily promised to do upon very liberal terms. There were two serious obstacles, however, to the usefulness of the Highlanders; the one, that they did not understand the English language; and the other, that a large portion of them were Roman Catholics, against whom the prejudices of the inferior classes in that city were still so strong that no Catholic clergyman could with safety reside there. The manufacturers represented to Mr. Macdonald that, although perfectly willing themselves to afford to Catholics all the countenance and protection

in their power, yet, as the penal laws still remained in full force against them, they could not be answerable for the consequences, in the event of evil-designed persons assailing or annoying them; and they further stated that the danger was still greater to a Catholic clergyman, who was liable not only to the insult and abuse of the rabble but subject to an arraignment before a court of justice. The priest replied, that although the letter of the law militated against Catholics, the spirit of it was greatly mitigated; and if they would but assure the Highlanders of their protection, he himself would take his chance of the severity of the law and the fanaticism of the people, and accompany the Highlanders to the manufactories, in order to serve them in the double capacity of interpreter and clergyman. The manufacturers accepted this proposal, and Mr. Macdonald took up his residence in Glasgow in June, 1792, and in the course of a few months obtained employment for upwards of six hundred Highlanders.

For two years the manufactures continued to increase and prosper, but in the year 1794 trade received a sudden check, and the war with France almost put an end to the exportation of British manufactures to the continent. The credit of the manufacturers was checked; their works were almost at a stand, and frequent bankruptcies ensued. The labouring classes were thrown out of employment, and amongst others the poor Highlanders. Unaccustomed to hard labour, and totally ignorant of the English language, the latter became more helpless and destitute than any other class of the community.

At this crisis Mr. Macdonald conceived the plan of getting these unfortunate Highlanders embodied as a Catholic corps in the service of the government, with the then young chief, Macdonell of Glengarry. Having

assembled a meeting of the Catholics at Fort Augustus in February, 1794, a loyal address was drawn up to the king, offering to raise a Catholic corps under the command of the young chieftain, who, together with John Fletcher, Esq., of Dunans, proceeded as a deputation to London with the address, which was most graciously received by the king. The manufacturers of Glasgow furnished them with the most ample and favourable testimonials of the good conduct of the Highlanders during the time they had been in their works, and strongly recommended that they should be employed in the service of their country.

Letters of service were accordingly issued in August, 1794, to Alexander Macdonell of Glengarry, to raise the Glengarry Fencible regiment as a Catholic corps, and of which he was appointed the colonel. Though contrary to the then existing law, Mr. (now the Right Rev. Dr.) Macdonald was gazetted as chaplain to the regiment. The Glengarry Fencibles were a handsome body of men, and more than one-half were from the estate of Glengarry. Some of the Fencible regiments having refused to extend their services to England, and two of them (Breadalbane and Grant) having mutinied, in consequence of the attempt to induce them to march into England, the Glengarry Fencibles, by the persuasion of their chaplain, offered to extend their services to any part of Great Britain or Ireland, or even to the islands of Jersey and Guernsey. This offer was very acceptable to the government, as it formed a precedent to all Fencible corps raised after this period. The regiment was embodied in June, 1795, and was soon afterward removed to Guernsey, where it remained till the summer of 1798, when it was removed to Ireland. On landing at Balleback, they marched to Waterford, and thence to New Ross the same day. At Waterford

an amusing incident occurred, which afforded no small surprise to some, and no slight ridicule to others, whilst, at the same time, it showed the simplicity of the Highlanders, and their ignorance of the ways of the world. The soldiers who received billet-money on their entrance into the town, returned it upon their being ordered to march the same evening to New Ross, for the purpose of reinforcing General Johnson, who was surrounded, and in a manner besieged by the rebels.

The Glengarry Fencibles were actively employed in this service, and so well pleased was Lord Cornwallis, the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, with the conduct of the corps, that he advised the government to augment the regiment; but this augmentation did not take place. The regiment returned to Scotland in 1802, and was reduced along with the other Fencible corps.

After their discharge, the Glengarry Highlanders were as destitute as ever. Their chaplain, struck with their forlorn condition, proceeded to London, and entered into a negotiation with the government, in the hope of procuring assistance to enable them to emigrate to Upper Canada. The ministry were opposed to the plan, but offered to settle the Highlanders in the Island of Trinidad, then just ceded to the Crown of Great Britain; Mr. Macdonald, however, persevered in his design, and Mr. Addington, the premier, procured for him an order with the sign-manual to the lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, to grant two hundred acres of land to every one of the Highlanders who should arrive in the province.

As soon as it was known that this order had been given by the colonial secretary, the Highland landlords took the alarm, as they considered that it would have the effect of enticing from the country their vassals and dependents. Sir John Macpherson, Sir Archibald Mac-

donald, lord-chief-baron of the exchequer in England, the late Mr. Charles Grant, one of the directors of the East India Company, and M.P. for Inverness-shire, with the other gentlemen connected with the Highlands, and even the Earl of Moira, then commander-in-chief in North Britain, endeavoured to dissuade the chaplain from his purpose, and promised to procure a pension for him if he would separate himself from the Highlanders; but neither their persuasions, nor those of the Prince of Wales, who was induced to interfere, and who offered a grant of waste lands to the intending emigrants in the county of Cornwall, could induce the chaplain to forego his resolution.

The greater part of the Glengarry Fencibles accordingly emigrated with their wives and families to Upper Canada, and settled in a district to which they gave the name of their native glen; and to follow out the parallel, every head of a family named his plantation after the name of the farm he had possessed in Glengarry. During the last war with America they gave a proof that their allegiance to their sovereign was not impaired in their adopted country, by enrolling themselves along with other emigrants and the sons of emigrants, in a corps for the defence of the province, under their old designation of Glengarry Fencibles.

17. *The Caithness Legion* — 1794

This corps was raised by Sir Benjamin Dunbar of Hempriggs. When embodied, it was removed to Ireland, returned from that country in 1802, and was reduced the same year.

18. *The Perthshire Fencibles* — 1794

This corps was raised by William Robertson of Lude, who was appointed its colonel. Though designated the

Perthshire Fencibles, it contained but very few Highlanders.

19. *Argyle Fencibles of* 1794 — *Third Battalion*

This corps was raised by Colonel Henry M. Clavering, to whom the command was given. The regiment was removed to Ireland, where it was stationed till its return to Scotland in 1802, when it was reduced.

20. *Lochaber Fencibles* — 1799

The influence which the family of Lochiel possessed in the Highlands was not extinguished by the expatriation of the chief of the Clan Cameron from his native country, as was fully evinced when Donald Cameron of Lochiel, who had been born and educated in France, fixed his abode in the land of his gallant ancestors. In consequence of the strong attachment which his clan still retained for the family, he was appointed colonel of a Fencible corps to be raised in Scotland, with the designation of the Lochaber Fencible Highlanders.

The clan, and indeed all Lochaber, immediately responded to the call of the chief, and in a very short time upwards of 560 Highlanders were enrolled. The number of recruits was increased to eight hundred by the exertions of officers in other parts of the country, and the whole were assembled at Falkirk in May, 1799. As some of the Highlanders afterward volunteered into regiments of the line, others were raised to supply the vacancies thus occasioned, so that the total number of Highlanders who entered the Lochaber Fencibles was 1,740.

In the year 1800 the regiment was removed to Ireland; but its military duty was short. It returned to Scotland in 1802, and was reduced at Linlithgow in the month of July of that year.

21. *The Clan-Alpine Fencibles* — 1799

In December, Colonel Alexander Macgregor Murray received instructions to raise a regiment of Highland Fencibles, of which he was appointed the colonel. He accordingly raised a body of 765 men, whose service was to extend to any part of Europe. In May, 1799, the men were assembled at Stirling, and inspected by Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Abercromby. In consequence of an arrangement similar to that made with other Fencible corps of this description by which one of the field-officers was to have permanent and progressive army rank, Captain Alexander Macgregor Murray of the 90th regiment, son of Colonel Macgregor Murray, was appointed major. In the event of any of the men entering the regular army, their services in the Clan-Alpine regiment were to be reckoned as if they had served from the first in the line.

In the year 1800, after the regiment had been removed to Ireland, orders were issued to augment it to 1,050 men. This increase was effected, notwithstanding the great and recent drains from the population, particularly of the Highlands. Shortly after this augmentation, two detachments entered the regular army, and it therefore became necessary to recruit again. Of 1,230 men who entered the regiment from first to last, about 780 were Highlanders, thirty English and Irish, and the remainder Scottish Lowlanders.

The regiment returned from Ireland in 1802, and was disbanded on the twenty-fourth of July at Stirling.

22. *The Ross-shire Fencibles* — 1796

This corps was raised by Major Colin Mackenzie of Mountgerald, who was appointed colonel. The regi-

ment was small in point of numbers, and when reduced, was as strong and efficient as when embodied, not one man having died during its service.

23. *Regiment of the Isles, or Macdonald Fencibles* — 1799

This corps was raised by the late Lord Macdonald on his estates in the isles, having, on his own application, obtained permission from George III for that purpose. It was embodied at Inverness on the fourth of June, 1799, by Major-General Leith Hay. This was an excellent body of young men, their average age being twenty-two years, "a period of life the best calculated to enter upon military service; not too young to suffer from, or incapable of supporting the hardships and fatigues peculiar to the profession; nor too old to admit of the mental and personal habits of the soldier being moulded to the moral and military restraints which the profession renders necessary."

The regiment was removed to England, where it was employed to put down a combination amongst the seamen of Whitehaven, to raise their wages, by preventing the vessels from leaving the harbour. No force, however, was necessary, as the sailors had a salutary dread of the Highlanders; and the officers, by kind remonstrances, prevailed on the refractory seamen to yield the point, and to return to their ships. In 1802 the regiment was marched to Fort George, and reduced.

24. *Argyle Fencibles,* 1799 — *Third Battalion*

This corps was raised by Archibald Macneil of Colonsay, who was appointed colonel of the regiment. The name of Argyle, like that of the Perthshire Highlanders, was rather a misnomer, as very few Argyleshire men entered the corps. The service of this regiment extend-

ing to any part of Europe, it was sent to Gibraltar in the year 1800, where it remained in garrison till the peace of Amiens, when it was ordered home, and reduced.

25. *The Ross and Cromarty Rangers* — 1799

This corps, which was embodied in June, 1799, was commanded by Colonel Lewis Mackenzie, younger of Scatwell. Though the terms of its service were to extend to Europe, it remained in Scotland. It was reduced at the peace.

26. *The Macleod Fencibles* — 1799

This was the last Fencible regiment raised in the Highlands. It was inspected and embodied at Elgin by Major-General Leith Hay, in the month of June, under the designation of the Princess Charlotte of Wales's, or Macleod Highlanders. The command of the corps was given to John Macleod of Colbecks. The regiment was immediately sent to Ireland, where it remained till 1802, when, having embarked for England, it was reduced at Tynemouth barracks in the month of June.

HISTORY OF
THE HIGHLAND CLANS

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CHAPTER I

DIFFUSION OF CELTIC RACE

The extensive diffusion of the Celtic race, at a period long anterior to the commencement of modern annals, is a fact attested by many circumstances, and by none more clearly than by the traces of their languages still discoverable in the multitudes of topical names which have survived the fortunes of those who originally imposed them, and passed into the nomenclature of the different nations by whom they were displaced. Of the origin and progress of this race, of their early migrations and the countries which they gradually overspread or occupied, as well as of their subsequent reverses, when, yielding to the pressure of new invasions, they were driven from the open country, and forced to seek refuge amongst the inaccessible fastnesses of the mountains, we have already treated, as fully as the importance of the question seemed to require, in various parts of this history, to which accordingly the reader is referred. There are few questions, indeed, where it is so easy to indulge in unlimited speculation, yet so difficult to arrive at any probable or satisfactory result, as that which relates to the early history of nations, the vicissitudes to which they have been exposed by invasion and conquest, the effects of climate and the influence of time in softening or obliterating original

distinctions, and the gradual amalgamation of different tribes into one general mass consequent on alliances or combinations arising out of common danger or common necessity. The causes by which great changes have ultimately been effected are either altogether unknown to us, from the want of contemporary records, and are, therefore, purely conjectural; or they are so numerous, and at the same time so imperceptible in their operation at any given period, though distinguishable enough after the lapse of long intervals of time, that any attempt to deduce certain conclusions from such doubtful and inappreciable premises must be abandoned as equally hopeless and irrational. The remains of language alone, of that which seems the most perishable, but which is in reality the most lasting of all human attributes or distinctions, afford a criterion by which we can estimate with reasonable probability the past predominance of certain races of men, their affiliation or connection with other tribes or nations, and the order in which different races have succeeded each other in the same country or division of the earth. Such vestiges constitute all that antiquity has left us, all that time in its destroying course has spared; they form, as it were, the fossil remains of an extinct order of things, and though they in fact tell us but little of that which once was, they tell us all, or nearly all, we are ever likely to learn respecting those nations which have transmitted to us no other epitaph.

Of the peculiar customs and institutions which prevailed amongst the nations of Celtic origin anterior to the period when they were forced to give way before the irresistible current of that invasion which swept them from the plains, and forced them to seek refuge amongst the natural defences of the mountains, there to maintain a wild and precarious independence, we

can form no opinion except by reasoning from analogy, and by assuming, that, amidst all their vicissitudes of fortune, they would still retain, in a considerable degree at least, the character and habits which had distinguished them, whilst they preserved an undisputed ascendency. But it must nevertheless be observed, that the earliest information we possess respecting this singular race dates from a period long subsequent to that which is here referred to, when they had been expelled from the open country to make way for other and more powerful occupants; that they were a people of broken fortunes, overcome, but not subjugated, ages before any authentic information was obtained regarding their condition, or the peculiar state of society which prevailed amongst them; that their institutions, when first observed, were of a kind which appeared to have originated partly under the influence of local position and circumstances, and partly to have descended to them from the days of their palmy superiority; and that, consequently, in conducting our inquiries respecting this people we must abandon the region of conjectural speculation and shadowy tradition, and start from the point where history, emerging from the mists of fable and romance, begins to emit those feeble but precious lights, which, when concentrated by a judicious and enlightened criticism, may enable us to penetrate even beyond the era at which they were evolved. It is in this mode alone that truth can be divined, and distinguished from fanciful exaggeration; or that the history of any people can be rendered an instructive practical exposition of those great principles in the philosophy of man, which are more or less applicable, however great may be the diversity of circumstances under which he is placed.

The striking yet obvious peculiarity, by which the

form of society and government amongst the tribes of Celtic origin was distinguished from that of all other European nations, consisted in the existence amongst these tribes of a kind of patriarchal system of government, fortified and consolidated by a conventional reciprocity of paternal protection and filial devotion. In fact, the division of the people into separate tribes or clans, under separate chiefs whose influence remained undiminished until after the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions in 1748, may be regarded as the most remarkable circumstance in their political condition; inasmuch as it maintained itself in coexistence with a more advanced state of society, resisted the operation of causes which in other countries had long before obliterated the last remains of such a primitive form of government, and was only suppressed, without being altogether destroyed, by the defensive energy of a new dynasty, whose existence it had seriously endangered. Nor was this division, in its origin and development, the result of accident, or the consequence of any marked peculiarity of the Celtic character. On the contrary, the nature of the country which they had occupied, and the motives which had induced the Celts to make it their refuge, almost necessarily prescribed the form of their institutions. Unable to contend with the overwhelming numbers who had driven them from the plains, yet anxious to maintain their independence and prevent intermixture with strangers, they defended themselves in those great natural strongholds, which in every country are the sanctuaries of national liberty, and the refuge of those who resist the oppression or refuse to submit to the domination of more powerful neighbours. In the absence of their monarchs, whose authority was unfelt, secure within their rugged barrier of rocks, and strengthened by the

natural barrenness of their mountains, they scarcely acknowledged a distant government, which could neither enforce obedience nor afford protection. The division of the country into so many straths, and valleys, and islands, separated from one another by mountains or arms of the sea, thus necessarily gave rise to various distinct societies; and individuals of superior property, courage, or ability, under whose banners they had fought, or upon whose lands they had settled, naturally became their chiefs, that is, at once their lawgivers, their judges, and their military leaders. Their secluded situation necessarily rendered general intercourse difficult, whilst the impenetrable ramparts with which they were surrounded made defence easy. The whole race was thus broken into many individual masses, possessing a community of customs and character, but placed under different jurisdictions; every district became a sort of petty independent state; and the government of each community or clan assumed the patriarchal form, being a species of hereditary monarchy, founded on custom, and allowed by general consent, rather than regulated by positive laws.

But this system, although it exhibited features apparently identical with those by which the feudal and other forms of society were characterized, was based upon different principles, and knit together by stronger ties. In its origin, it was no doubt modified by the physical and other circumstances to which we have alluded; but in its development it was cemented by the notion of consanguinity, which made each clan regard itself and be considered by others as a separate and distinct family, the head of which was the chief. Community of feeling, position, and interest, was strengthened by a supposed community of blood; and hence the *jus sanguinis* gave to the Celtic chief a preëminent

authority which never belonged to the feudal baron. In fact, the feudal system, which had spread itself so extensively over all the east and south of Europe, never penetrated into the inaccessible fastnesses, where the remains of the Celts had taken shelter. In Wales, in Ireland, and in the Highlands of Scotland, the patriarchal government was universal; whilst, opposed to, not identical with, this form, was the feudal system of the Saxon invaders, who established it as far as their power extended, and no farther. Hence, it was long the policy of the Scottish legislature to oppose the feudal power of the barons, and to support that which was exercised by the chiefs, *jure sanguinis*, over the obedience and service of their clans; the one was conceived to militate against and present an obstacle to the explication and assertion of the royal authority; the other, being considered as indefeasible and imprescriptible, a power which admitted neither of increase nor diminution, was sought as an ally against usurpations, which were restrained by no ties and confined within no limits, such as those which at once regulated and abridged the authority of a chief.

In this manner, the Duke of Gordon, though feudal superior of the lands and estates held by the Camerons, Macphersons, Macdonells of Keppoch, and others, had no command whatever over these clans; they acknowledged a different authority, and always followed the orders of their patriarchal chiefs. Thus although most of those nations by which Europe was originally peopled were divided into a number of tribes, acknowledging each the rule of an hereditary chief, and consequently exhibiting a constitution apparently similar to that which has been denominated patriarchal, yet the latter was, in its real nature, altogether different. Whilst the Gothic and other tribes who had obtained a footing

in Europe were associated for the purposes of mutual protection or convenience, it was community of origin, or supposed identity of family and of blood, which formed the bond that united the Celtic tribe with its chief. The latter was the hereditary lord of all who were supposed to be descended of the same stock with himself; the Gothic baron was merely the hereditary proprietor of a certain tract of land, and, as such only, entitled to service and obedience of those who dwelt on it.

This distinguishing property of the patriarchal system, wherever it prevailed, was peculiarly remarkable in the case of the Highlanders of Scotland. That system, in some of its features, exhibited a close resemblance to feudalism, yet in others the distinction was too strongly marked to be for a moment mistaken. If the former alone were considered, it might be supposed that the feudal system had always existed amongst the Highlanders; but this would be a narrow, partial, and incorrect view of the subject, inasmuch as, even where the similarity appears to be most striking, a distinctive specific difference may easily be traced. The system of clanship, for instance, has often been mistaken for a modification of the feudal jurisdiction, to which it no doubt bore a considerable external resemblance; yet, in the laws of succession and of marriage, as well as in the fundamental principle of community of origin, which formed no element whatever of the feudal constitution, these systems were almost diametrically opposed to each other, and hence could scarcely have sprung from a common source. At the same time, by reason of the similarity already mentioned, the feudal law was without difficulty introduced into the Highlands in as far as regarded the tenure of lands; but, in other respects, the struggle between the two systems

proved long and doubtful, nor was it until a very recent period that the feudal law of succession and marriage came into full operation in the Highlands, and displaced that which had previously obtained, thus laying a foundation for those disputes which have since arisen amongst many of the Highland families respecting chieftainship and succession.

The system of clanship in the Highlands, although possessing an apparent resemblance to feudalism, was in principle very different indeed from that system as it existed in other parts of the country. In the former case, the people followed their chief as the head of their race, and the representative of the common ancestor of the clan; in the latter, they obeyed their leader as feudal proprietor of the lands to which they were attached, and to whom they owed military service for their respective portions of these lands. The Highland chief was the hereditary lord of all who belonged to his clan, wherever they dwelt or whatever lands they occupied; the feudal baron was entitled to the military service of all who held lands under him, to whatever race they might individually belong. The one dignity was personal, the other was territorial; the rights of the chief were inherent, those of the baron were accessory; the one might lose or forfeit his possessions, but could not thereby be divested of his hereditary character and privileges; the other, when divested of his fee, ceased to have any title or claim to the service of those who occupied the lands. Yet these two systems, so different in principle, were in effect nearly identical. Both exhibited the spectacle of a subject possessed of unlimited power within his own territories, and exacting unqualified obedience from a numerous train of followers, to whom he stood in the several relations of landlord, military leader, and judge, with all the

powers and prerogatives belonging to each of those characters. Both were equally calculated to aggrandize turbulent chiefs and nobles, at the expense of the royal authority, which they frequently defied, generally resisted, and but seldom obeyed; although for the most part, the chief was less disloyal than the baron, probably because he was farther removed from the seat of government, and less sensible of its interference with his own jurisdiction. The one system was adapted to a people in a pastoral state of society, and inhabiting a country like the Highlands of Scotland, which, from its peculiar nature and conformation, not only prevented the adoption of any other mode of life, but at the same time prescribed the division of the people into separate families or clans. The other system, being of a defensive character, was necessary to a population occupying a fertile but open country, possessing only a rude notion of agriculture, and exposed on all sides to aggressions on the part of neighbours or enemies. But the common tendency of both was to obstruct the administration of justice, nurse habits of lawless violence, exclude the cultivation of the arts of peace, and generally to impede the progress of improvement; and hence neither was compatible with the prosperity of a civilized nation, where the liberty of the subject required protection, and the security of property demanded an equal administration of justice.

As far as the tenure of lands and the heritable jurisdictions were concerned, the feudal system was easily introduced into the Highlands; but although the principal chiefs readily agreed, or were induced by circumstances, to hold their lands of the Crown or of low country barons, yet the system of clanship remained in full force amongst the native Highlanders until a very recent period; and its spirit still survives in the affections, the

prejudices, the opinions, and the habits of the people. The peculiarities of clanship are nowhere better described than in a book written about the year 1730, entitled, "Letters from an Officer of Engineers to his Friend in London;" a work which is the more valuable as it contains the observations of an intelligent and unprejudiced stranger, who had ample opportunities of studying the people of the North, and who has recorded his remarks with equal truth, candour, and fidelity.

"The Highlanders are divided into tribes or clans, under chiefs or chieftains, and each clan is again divided into branches from the main stock, who have chieftains over them. These are subdivided into smaller branches of fifty or sixty men, who deduce their original from their particular chieftains, and rely upon them as their more immediate protectors and defenders. The ordinary Highlanders esteem it the most sublime degree of virtue to love their chief and pay him a blind obedience, although it be in opposition to the government. Next to this love of their chief is that of the particular branch whence they sprang; and, in a third degree, to those of the whole clan or name, whom they will assist, right or wrong, against those of any other tribe with which they are at variance. They likewise owe goodwill to such clans as they esteem to be their particular well-wishers. And, lastly, they have an adherence to one another as Highlanders in opposition to the people of the low country, whom they despise as inferior to them in courage, and believe they have a right to plunder them whenever it is in their power. This last arises from a tradition that the Lowlands, in old times, were the possessions of their ancestors.

"The chief exercises an arbitrary authority over his vassals, determines all differences and disputes that happen among them, and levies taxes upon extraordi-

nary occasions, such as the marriage of a daughter, building a house, or some pretence for his support or the honour of his name; and if any one should refuse to contribute to the best of his ability, he is sure of severe treatment, and, if he persists in his obstinacy, he would be cast out of his tribe by general consent. This power of the chief is not supported by interest, as they are landlords, but by consanguinity, as lineally descended from the old patriarchs or fathers of the families, for they hold the same authority when they have lost their estates, as may appear from several instances, and particularly that of one (Lord Lovat) who commands his clan, though at the same time they maintain him, having nothing left of his own. On the other hand, the chief, even against the laws, is bound to protect his followers, as they are sometimes called, be they never so criminal. He is their leader in clan quarrels, must free the necessitous from their arrears of rent, and maintain such who by accidents are fallen to total decay. Some of the chiefs have not only personal dislikes and enmity to each other, but there are also hereditary feuds between clan and clan which have been handed down from one generation to another for several ages. These quarrels descend to the meanest vassals, and thus sometimes an innocent person suffers for crimes committed by his tribe at a vast distance of time before his being began."

This clear and concise description will serve to convey an idea of clanship as it existed in the Highlands, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the system was in full force and vigour. It presented a singular mixture of patriarchal and feudal government; and everything connected with the habits, manners, customs, and feelings of the people tended to maintain it unimpaired, amidst all the changes which were gradually taking place in other parts of the country, from the diffu-

sion of knowledge, and the progress of improvement. There was, indeed, something almost Oriental in the character of immutability which seemed to belong to this primitive institution, endeared as it was to the affections, and singularly adapted to the condition of the people amongst whom it prevailed. Under its influence all their habits had been formed; with it all their feelings and associations were indissolubly blended. When the kindred and the followers of a chief saw him surrounded by a body of adherents, numerous, faithful, and brave, devoted to his interests, and ready at all times to sacrifice their lives in his service, they could conceive no power superior to his; and, when they looked back into the past history of their tribe, they found that his progenitors had, from time immemorial, been at their head. Their tales, their traditions, their songs, constantly referred to the exploits or the transactions of the same tribe or fraternity living under the same line of chiefs; and the transmission of command and obedience, of protection and attachment, from one generation to another, became in consequence as natural, in the eye of a Highlander, as the transmission of blood or the regular laws of descent. This order of things appeared to him as fixed and as inviolable as the constitution of nature or the revolutions of the seasons. Hence nothing could shake his fidelity to his chief, or induce him to compromise what he believed to be for the honour and interests of his clan. He was not without his feelings of independence, and he would not have brooked oppression where he looked for kindness and protection. But the long unbroken line of chiefs is of itself a strong presumptive proof of the general mildness of their sway. They governed in the right of affection and gratitude, as well as in that of patriarchal supremacy, and hence the loyalty and devotion of their followers were

proof against all the common accidents and vicissitudes of fortune. The individuals might change, but the ties which bound one generation were drawn more closely, although by insensible degrees, around the succeeding one; and thus each family, in all its various successions, retained something like the same sort of relation to the parent stem, which the renewed leaves of a tree in spring preserve, in point of form and position, to those which had dropped off in the preceding autumn.

Many important consequences, affecting the character of the Highlanders, resulted from this division of the people into small tribes, each governed in the patriarchal manner already described. The authority of the sovereign, if nominally recognized, was nearly altogether unfelt and inoperative. His mandates could neither arrest the mutual depredations of the clans, nor allay their hereditary hostilities. Delinquents could not be pursued into the bosom of the clan which protected them, nor could the judges administer the laws, in opposition to the will or the interests of the chiefs. Sometimes the sovereign attempted to strengthen his hands by fomenting divisions between the different clans, and entering occasionally into the interests of one, in the hope of weakening another; he threw his weight into one scale that the other might kick the beam, and he withdrew it again, that, by the violence of the reaction, both parties might be equally damaged and enfeebled. Many instances of this artful policy occur in Scottish history, which, for a long period, was little else than a record of internal disturbances. The general government, wanting the power to repress disorder, sought to destroy its elements by mutual collision; and the immediate consequence of its inefficiency was an almost perpetual system of aggression, warfare, depredation, and contention. Besides, the little principalities into which the

Highlands were divided touched at so many points, yet they were so independent of one another; they approached so nearly in many respects, yet, in some others, were so completely separated; there were so many opportunities of encroachment on the one hand, and so little disposition to submit to it on the other; and the quarrel or dispute of one individual of the tribe so naturally involved the interest, the sympathies, and the hereditary feelings or animosities of the rest, that profound peace or perfect cordiality scarcely ever existed amongst them, and their ordinary condition was either a chronic or an active state of internal warfare. From opposing interests or wounded pride, deadly feuds frequently arose amongst the chiefs, and being warmly espoused by the clans, were often transmitted, with aggravated animosity, from one generation to another.

If it were profitable, it might be curious to trace the negotiations, treaties, and bonds of amity, or manrent, as they were called, by which opposing clans strengthened themselves against the attacks and encroachments of their enemies or rivals, or to preserve what may be called the balance of power. Amongst the rudest communities of mankind may be discovered the elements of that science which has been applied to the government and diplomacy of the most civilized nations. By such bonds they came under an obligation to assist one another; and, in their treaties of mutual support and protection, smaller clans, unable to defend themselves, and those families or septs which had lost their chieftains, were also included. When such confederacies were formed, the smaller clans followed the fortunes, engaged in the quarrels, and fought under the chiefs of the greater. Thus the M'Raes followed the Earl of Seaforth, the M'Colls the Stewarts of Apin,

and the M'Gillivrays and M'Beans the laird of Mackintosh; but, nevertheless, their ranks were separately marshalled, and were led by their own subordinate chieftains and lairds, who owned submission only when necessary for the success of combined operations. The union had for its object aggression or revenge, and extended no further than the occasion for which it had been formed; yet it served to prevent the smaller clans from being swallowed up by the greater, and at the same time nursed the turbulent and warlike spirit which formed the common distinction of all. From these and other causes, the Highlands were for ages as constant a theatre of petty conflicts as Europe has been of great and important struggles; in the former were enacted, in miniature, scenes bearing a striking and amusing analogy to those which took place upon a grand scale in the latter. The spirit of opposition and rivalry between the clans perpetuated a system of hostility; it encouraged the cultivation of the military at the expense of the social virtues, and it perverted their ideas both of law and morality. Revenge was accounted a duty, the destruction of a neighbour a meritorious exploit, and rapine an honourable employment. Wherever danger was to be encountered, or bravery displayed, there they conceived that distinction was to be obtained; the perverted sentiment of honour rendered their feuds more implacable, their inroads more savage and destructive; and superstition added its influence in exasperating animosities, by teaching that to revenge the death of a kinsman or friend was an act agreeable to his manes; thus engaging on the side of the most implacable hatred and the darkest vengeance, the most amiable and domestic of all human feelings, namely, reverence for the memory of the dead, and affection for the virtues of the living.

Another custom, which once prevailed, contributed to perpetuate this spirit of lawless revenge. "Every heir or young chieftain of a tribe," says Martin, who had studied the character and manners of the Highlanders, and understood them well, "was obliged to give a specimen of his valour before he was owned and declared governor or leader of his people, who obeyed and followed him on all occasions. This chieftain was usually attended with a retinue of young men, who had not before given any proof of their valour, and were ambitious of such an opportunity to signalize themselves. It was usual for the chief to make a desperate incursion upon some neighbour or other, that they were in feud with, and they were obliged to bring, by open force, the cattle they found in the land they attacked, or to die in the attempt. After the performance of this achievement, the young chieftain was ever after reputed valiant, and worthy of government, and such as were of his retinue acquired the like reputation. This custom, being reciprocally used among them, was not reputed robbery; for the damage which one tribe sustained by the inauguration of the chieftain of another, was repaired when their chieftain came in his turn to make his specimen." But the practice seems to have died out about half a century before the time at which Martin's work appeared, and its disuse removed one fertile source of feuds and disorders. Of the nature of the depredations in which the Highlanders commonly engaged, the sentiments with which they were regarded, the manner in which they were conducted, and the effects which they produced on the character, habits, and manners of the people, an ample and interesting account will be found in the first volume of General Stewart's valuable work on the the Highlands.

It has been commonly alleged, that ideas of succession

were so loose in the Highlands, that brothers were often preferred to grandsons and even to sons. But this assertion proceeds on a most erroneous assumption, inasmuch as election was never in any degree admitted, and a system of hereditary succession prevailed, which, though different from that which has been instituted by the feudal law, allowed of no such deviations or anomalies as some have imagined. The Highland law of succession, as Mr. Skene observes, requires to be considered in reference, first, to the chiefship and the superiority of the lands belonging to the clan; and, secondly, in respect to the property or the land itself. The succession to the chiefship and its usual prerogatives was termed the law of *tanistry;* that to the property or the land itself, *gavel.* But when the feudal system was introduced, the law of tanistry became the law of succession to the property as well as the chiefship, whilst that of gavel was too directly opposed to feudal principles to be suffered to exist at all, even in a modified form. It appears, indeed, that the Highlanders adhered strictly to succession in the male line, and that the great peculiarity which distinguished their law of succession from that established by the feudal system consisted in the circumstance that, according to it, brothers invariably succeeded before sons. In the feudal system property was alone considered, and the nearest relation to the last proprietor was naturally accounted the heir. But, in the Highland system, the governing principle of succession was not property, but the right of chiefship, derived from being the lineal descendant of the founder or patriarch of the tribe; it was the relation to the common ancestor, to whom the brother was considered as one degree nearer than the son, and through whom the right was derived, and not to the last chief, which regulated the succession. Thus, the brothers of the chief invari-

ably succeeded before the sons, not by election, but as a matter of right, and according to a fixed rule which formed the law or principle of succession, instead of being, as some have supposed, a departure from it, occasioned by views of temporary expediency, by usurpation, or otherwise. That an anxiety to avoid minorities in a tribe or clan, which required above all things a competent leader in war, may have originally recommended the establishment of such a rule cannot reasonably be doubted; but it is nevertheless obvious, that it results as an immediate consequence from the essential difference in principle between the Highland and the feudal systems of succession. In a word, the law of tanistry, however much opposed to the feudal notions of later times, flowed naturally from the patriarchal constitution of society in the Highlands, and was peculiarly adapted to the circumstances of a people such as we have described, whose warlike habits and love of military enterprise, or armed predatory expeditions, made it necessary to have at all times a chief competent to act as their leader or commander.

But if the law of tanistry was opposed to the principles of the feudal system, that of gavel or the succession to property amongst the Highlanders was still more adverse. By the feudal law the eldest son, when the succession opened, not only acquired the superiority over the rest of the family, but he also succeeded to the whole of the property, whilst the younger branches were obliged to seek advancement in war, or to push their fortune by following other pursuits. But in the Highlands the case was altogether different. By the law of gavel, the property of the clan was divided in certain proportions amongst all the male branches of the family, to the exclusion of females, who, by this extraordinary

Salic anomaly, could no more succeed to the property than to the chiefship itself. The law of gavel in the Highlands, therefore, differed from the English custom of gavel-kind in being exclusively confined to the male branches of a family. In what proportions the property was divided, or whether these proportions varied according to circumstances, or the will of the chief, it is impossible to ascertain. But it would appear that the principal seat of the family, with the lands immediately surrounding it, always remained the property of the chief; and besides this, the latter retained a sort of superiority over the whole possessions of the clan, in virtue of which he received from each dependent branch a portion of the produce of the land as an acknowledgment of his chiefship, and also to enable him to support the dignity of his station by the exercise of a commensurate hospitality. Such was the law of gavel, which, though adverse to feudal principles, was adapted to the state of society amongst the Highlands, out of which indeed it originally sprang; because, where there were no other pursuits open to the younger branches of families except rearing flocks and herds during peace, and following the chief in war, and where it was the interest as well as the ambition of the latter to multiply the connections of his family, and take every means to strengthen the power as well as to secure the obedience of his clan, the division of property, or the law of gavel, resulted as naturally from such an order of things, as that of hereditary succession to the patriarchal government and chiefship of the clan. Hence, the chief stood to the cadets of his family in a relation somewhat analogous to that in which the feudal sovereign stood to the barons who held their fiefs of the Crown, and although there was no formal investiture, yet the tenure was in effect pretty nearly

the same. In both cases, the principle of the system was essentially military, though it apparently led to opposite results; and, in the Highlands, the law under consideration was so peculiarly adapted to the constitution of society, that it was only abandoned after a long struggle, and even at a comparatively recent period traces of its existence and operation may be observed amongst the people of that country.

The law of marriage, observed in the Highlands, has frequently been as little understood as that of succession, and similar misconceptions have prevailed regarding it. This was, perhaps, to be expected. In a country where a bastard son was often found in undisturbed possession of the chiefship or property of a clan, and where such bastard generally received the support of the clansmen against the claims of the feudal heir, it was natural to suppose that very loose notions of succession were entertained by the people; that legitimacy conferred no exclusive rights; and that the title founded on birth alone might be set aside in favour of one having no other claim than that of election. But this, although a plausible, would nevertheless be an erroneous supposition. The person here considered as a bastard, and described as such, was by no means viewed in the same light by the Highlanders, because, according to their law of marriage, which was originally very different from the feudal system in this matter, his claim to legitimacy was as undoubted as that of the feudal heir afterward became. It is well known that the notions of the Highlanders were peculiarly strict in regard to matters of hereditary succession, and that no people on earth was less likely to sanction any flagrant deviation from what they believed to be the right and true line of descent. All their peculiar habits, feelings, and prejudices were in direct opposition to a practice, which, had it been

really acted upon, must have introduced endless disorder and confusion; and hence the natural explanation of this apparent anomaly seems to be, what Mr. Skene has stated, namely, that a person who was feudally a bastard might in their view be considered as legitimate, and therefore entitled to be supported in accordance with their strict ideas of hereditary right, and their habitual tenacity of whatever belonged to their ancient usages. Nor is this mere conjecture or hypothesis. A singular custom regarding marriage, retained till a late period amongst the Highlanders, and clearly indicating that their law of marriage originally differed in some essential points from that established under the feudal system, seems to afford a simple and natural explanation of the difficulty by which genealogists have been so much puzzled.

"This custom was termed hand-fasting, and consisted in a species of contract between two chiefs, by which it was agreed that the heir of one should live with the daughter of the other as her husband for twelve months and a day. If in that time the lady became a mother, or proved to be with child, the marriage became good in law, even although no priest had performed the marriage ceremony in due form; but should there not have occurred any appearance of issue, the contract was considered at an end, and each party was at liberty to marry or hand-fast with any other. It is manifest that the practice of so peculiar a species of marriage must have been in terms of the original law among the Highlanders, otherwise it would be difficult to conceive how such a custom could have originated; and it is in fact one which seems naturally to have arisen from the form of their society, which rendered it a matter of such vital importance to secure the lineal succession of their chiefs. It is perhaps not improbable that it was

this peculiar custom which gave rise to the report handed down by the Roman and other historians, that the ancient inhabitants of Great Britain had their wives in common, or that it was the foundation of that law of Scotland by which natural children became legitimized by subsequent marriage; and as this custom remained in the Highlands until a very late period, the sanction of ancient custom was sufficient to induce them to persist in regarding the offspring of such marriages as legitimate."

It appears, indeed, that, as late as the sixteenth century, the issue of a hand-fast marriage claimed the earldom of Sutherland. The claimant, according to Sir Robert Gordon, described himself as one lawfully descended from his father, John, the third earl, because, as he alleged, "his mother was hand-fasted and fianced to his father;" and his claim was bought off (which shows that it was not considered as altogether incapable of being maintained) by Sir Adam Gordon, who had married the heiress of Earl John. Such, then, was the nature of the peculiar and temporary connection, which gave rise to the apparent anomalies which we have been considering. It was a custom which had for its object, not to interrupt but to preserve the lineal succession of the chiefs, and to obviate the very evil of which it is conceived to afford a glaring example. But after the introduction of the feudal law, which, in this respect, was directly opposed to the ancient Highland law, the lineal and legitimate heir, according to Highland principles, came to be regarded as a bastard by the government, which accordingly considered him as thereby incapacitated for succeeding to the honours and property of his race; and hence originated many of those disputes concerning succession and chiefship, which embroiled families with one another, as well as with the government, and were productive of incredible disorder,

mischief, and bloodshed. No allowance was made for the ancient usages of the people, which were probably but ill understood; and the rights of rival claimants were decided according to the principles of a foreign system of law, which was long resisted, and never admitted except from necessity. It is to be observed, however, that the Highlanders themselves drew a broad distinction between bastard sons and the issue of the hand-fast unions above described. The former were rigorously excluded from every sort of succession, but the latter were considered as legitimate as the offspring of the most regularly solemnized marriage.

Having said thus much respecting the laws of succession and marriage, we proceed next to consider the gradation of ranks which appears to have existed amongst the Highlanders, whether in relation to the lands of which they were proprietors, or the clans of which they were members. And here it may be observed that the classification of society in the Highlands seems to have borne a close resemblance to that which obtained in Wales and in Ireland, amongst cognate branches of the same general race. In the former country, there were three different tenures of land, and nine degrees of rank. Of these tenures, the first was termed Maerdir, signifying a person who has jurisdiction, and included three ranks; the second was called Uchilordir, or property, and likewise consisted of three ranks; and the third, denominated Priodordir, or native, included that portion of the population whom we would now call tenants, divided into the degrees of yeomen, labourers, and serfs. A similar order of things appears to have prevailed in Ireland, where, in the classification of the people, we recognize the several degrees of Fuidir, Biadhtach, and Mogh. In the Highlands, the first tenure included the three degrees of

Ard Righ, Righ, and Maormor; the Tighern or Thane, the Armin and the Squire, were analogous to the three Welsh degrees included in the Uchilordir; and a class of persons, termed native men, were evidently the same in circumstances and condition with the Priodordir of Wales. These native men were obviously the tenants or farmers on the property, who made a peculiar acknowledgment, termed *calpe*, to the chief or head of their clan. For this we have the authority of Martin, who informs us that one of the duties "payable by all the tenants to their chiefs, though they did not live upon his lands," was called "calpich," and that "there was a standing law for it" denominated "calpich law." The other duty paid by the tenants was that of *herezeld*, as it was termed, which, along with calpe, was exigible, if the tenant happened to occupy more than the eighth part of a davach of land. That such was the peculiar acknowledgment of chiefship incumbent on the native men, or, in other words, the clan tribute payable by them in acknowledgment of the power and in support of the dignity of the chief, appears from the bonds of amity or manrent, in which we find them obliging themselves to pay "*calpis* as native men ought and should do to their chief."

But the native men of Highland properties must be carefully distinguished from the *cumerlach*, who, like the *kaeth* of the Welsh, were merely a species of serfs, or *adscripti glebæ*. The former could not be removed from the land at the will of their lord, but there was no restriction laid on their personal liberty; the latter might be removed at the pleasure of their lord, but their personal liberty was restrained, or rather abrogated. The native man was the tenant who cultivated the soil, and as such possessed a recognized estate in the land which he occupied. As long as he performed the requisite

services he could not be removed, nor could a greater proportion of labour or produce be exacted from him than custom or usage had fixed. It appears, therefore, that they possessed their farms, or holdings, by an inherent right, which was not derived from their lord, and of which, springing as it did from immemorial usage, and the very constitution of clanship, it was not in his power to deprive them. The *cumerlach* were the cotters and actual labourers of the soil, who, possessing no legal rights either of station or property, were in reality absolute serfs. The changes of succession, however, occasionally produced important results, illustrative of the peculiarities above described. "When a Norman baron," says Mr. Skene, "obtained by succession or otherwise a Highland property, the Gaelic *nativi* remained in actual possession of the soil under him, but at the same time paid their *calpes* to the natural chief of their clan, and followed him in war. When a Highland chief, however, acquired by the operation of the feudal succession an additional property which had not been previously in the possession of his clan, he found it possessed by the *nativi* of another race. If these *nativi* belonged to another clan which still existed in independence, and if they chose to remain on the property, they did so at the risk of being placed in a perilous situation, should a feud arise between the two clans. But if they belonged to no other independent clan, and the stranger chief had acquired the whole possessions of their race, the custom seems to have been for them to give a bond of manrent to their new lord, by which they bound themselves to follow him as their chief, and make him the customary acknowledgment of the *calpe*. They thus became a dependent sept upon a clan of a different race, while they were not considered as forming a part of that clan."

The gradation of ranks considered in reference to the clan or tribe may be briefly described. Besides the *righ* or king, who in point of birth and station was originally on a footing of equality with the other chiefs, and only derived some additional dignity during his life from a sort of regal preëminence, the highest title of honour amongst the Highlanders was anciently that of maormor, the persons invested with this distinction having been the patriarchal chiefs of the great tribes into which the Highlanders were formerly divided. But when the line of the ancient maormors gradually sank under the ascendant influence of the feudal system, the clans forming the great tribes became independent, and their leaders or chiefs were held to represent each the common ancestor or founder of his clan, and derived all their dignity and power from the belief in such representation. The chief possessed his office by right of blood alone, as that right was understood in the Highlands; neither election nor marriage could constitute any title to this distinction; it was, as we have already stated, purely hereditary, nor could it descend to any person except him who, according to the Highland rule of succession, was the nearest male heir to the dignity. Next to the chief stood the *tanist* or person who, by the laws of tanistry, was entitled to succeed to the chiefship; he possessed this title during the lifetime of the chief, and, in virtue of his apparent honours, was considered as a man of mark and consequence. After the family of the chief came the *ceantighes*, or heads of the subordinate houses into which the clan was divided, the most powerful of whom was the *toisich*, or oldest cadet. This was a natural consequence of the law of gavel, which, producing a constant subdivision of the chief's estate, until in actual extent of property he sometimes came to possess less

than any of the other branches of the family, served in nearly the same proportion to aggrandize the latter, and hence that branch which had been longest separated from the original became relatively the most powerful. Accordingly, from the earliest times, the oldest cadet held the highest rank in the clan, next to the chief, and when the clan took the field he occupied, as a matter of right, the principal post of honour. On the march he headed the van, and in battle took his station on the right; he was, in fact, the lieutenant-general of the chief, and when the latter was absent, he commanded the whole clan. Hence he was called *toisich*, or the first, because his business was to lead the way in the advance, and to head the attack in the field. Another function exercised by the oldest cadet was that of *maor*, or steward, the principal business of which officer was to collect the revenues of the chief; but, after the feudal customs were introduced, this duty devolved upon the baron-bailie, and the *maor* consequently discontinued his fiscal labours.

The peculiar position of the *toisich*, with the power and consequence attached to it, naturally pointed him out as the person to whom recourse would be had in circumstances of difficulty; and hence arose an apparent anomaly which has led to no little misconception and confusion. The difficulty, however, may easily be cleared by a short explanation. When, through misfortune or otherwise, the family of the chief had become so reduced that he could no longer afford to his clan the protection required, and which formed the correlative obligation on his part to that of fealty and obedience on theirs, then the clansmen followed the oldest cadet as the head of the most powerful sept or branch of the clan; and he thus enjoyed, sometimes for a considerable period, all the dignity, consequence, and privileges of a

chief, without, of course, either possessing a right, *jure sanguinis*, to that station, or even acquiring the title of the office which he, *de facto*, exercised. He was merely a sort of patriarchal regent, who exercised the supreme power, and enjoyed prerogatives of royalty, without the name. Whilst the system of clanship remained in its original purity, no such regency, or interregnum, could ever take place. But, in process of time, many circumstances occurred to render it both expedient and necessary. In fact, clanship, in its ancient purity, could scarcely coexist with the feudal system, which introduced changes so adverse to its true spirit; and hence, when the territory had passed, by descent, into the hands of a Lowland baron, or when, by some unsuccessful opposition to the government, the chief had brought ruin upon himself and his house, and was no longer in a condition to maintain his station and afford protection to his clan, the latter naturally placed themselves under the only head capable of occupying the position of their chief, and with authority sufficient to command or enforce obedience. In other words, they sought protection at the hands of the oldest cadet; and he, on his part, was known by the name, not of chief, which would have been a gross usurpation, but of captain, or leader of the clan. It is clear, therefore, that this dignity was one which owed its origin to circumstances, and formed no part of the original system, as has been generally but erroneously supposed. If an anomaly, it was one imposed by necessity, and the deviation was confined, as we have seen, within the narrowest possible limits. It was altogether unknown until a recent period in the history of the Highlands, and when it did come into use, it was principally confined to three clans, namely, Clan Chattan, Clan Cameron, and Clan Ranald; an undoubted proof that it was not

a regular but an exceptional dignity, that it was a temporary expedient, not part of a system, and that a captain differed as essentially from a chief as a regent differs from an hereditary sovereign. "It is evident," says Mr. Skene, who has the merit of being the first to trace out this distinction clearly, "that a title, which was not universal among the Highlanders, must have arisen from peculiar circumstances, connected with those clans in which it is first found; and when we examine the history of these clans, there can be little doubt that it was simply a person who had, from various causes, become *de facto* head of the clan, while the person possessing the hereditary right to that dignity remained either in a subordinate situation, or else for the time disunited from the rest of the clan."

Next to the ceantighes, or heads of houses, followed in the order of rank the *duinewassels*, or gentry of the clan, a class intermediate between the chief and the body of the clan, and forming, as it were, the link by which they were united. The duinewassels were all cadets of the house of the chief, and each had a pedigree of his own as long and perchance as complicated as that of his chief. They were, as might be expected, the bravest portion of the clan; the first in the onset, and the last to quit the bloody strife, even when the tide of battle pressed hardest against them. They cherished a high and chivalrous sense of honour, ever keenly alive to insult or reproach; and they were at all times ready to devote themselves to the service of their chief, when a wrong was to be avenged, an inroad repressed or punished, or glory reaped by deeds of daring in arms.

To this general view of the constitution of society in the Highlands, little remains to be added. The chief, as we have seen, was a sort of *regulus*, or petty prince, invested with an authority which was in its nature

arbitrary, but which, in its practical exercise, was for the most part mild and paternal. He was subjected to no theoretical or constitutional limitations, yet, if ferocious in disposition, or weak in understanding, he was restrained or directed by the elders of the tribe, who were his standing counsellors, and without whose advice no measure of importance could be decided on. Inviolable custom supplied the deficiency of law, and what at first sight appears to have been a savage despotism was, by the influence of opinion embodied and consecrated in usage, converted into a paternal authority. As his distinction and power consisted chiefly in the number of his followers, his pride as well as his ambition became a guarantee for the mildness of his sway; he had a direct and immediate interest to secure the attachment and devotion of his clan; and his condescension, whilst it raised the clansman in his own estimation, served also to draw closer the ties which bound the latter to his superior, without tempting him to transgress the limits of propriety. The Highlander was thus taught to respect himself in the homage which he paid to his chief. Instead of complaining of the difference of station and fortune, or considering prompt obedience as slavish degradation, he felt convinced that he was supporting his own honour in showing respect to the head of his family, and in yielding a ready compliance to his will. Hence it was that the Highlanders, whom more barbarous nations have sometimes called barbarians, carried in their demeanour the politeness of courts without the vices by which these are too frequently dishonoured, and cherished in their bosoms a sense of honour without any of its follies or extravagances. This mutual interchange of condescension and respect served to elevate the tone of moral feeling amongst the people, and no doubt contributed to generate that principle of

incorruptible fidelity of which there are on record so many striking and even affecting examples. The sentiment of honour, and the firmness sufficient to withstand temptation, may in general be expected in the higher classes of society; but the voluntary sacrifice of life and fortune is a species of self-devotion seldom displayed in any community, and never perhaps exemplified to the same extent in any country, as in the Highlands of Scotland. The punishment of treachery was a kind of conventional outlawry or banishment from society, a sort of *aquæ et ignis interdictio* even more terrible than the punishment inflicted under that denomination during the prevalence of the Roman law. It was the judgment of all against one, the condemnation of society, not that of a tribunal; and the execution of the sentence was as complete as its ratification was universal. Persons thus intercommuned were for ever cut off from the society to which they belonged; they incurred civil death in its most appalling form, and their names descended with infamy to posterity. What higher proof could possibly be produced of the noble sentiments of honour and fidelity cherished by the people, than the simple fact that the breach of these was visited with such a fearful retribution?

On the other hand, when chiefs proved worthless or oppressive they were occasionally deposed, and, when they took a side which was disapproved by the clan, they were abandoned by their people. Of the former there are several well-authenticated examples; and General Stewart has mentioned a remarkable instance of the latter. "In the reign of King William, immediately after the Revolution, Lord Tullibardine, eldest son of the Marquis of Athole, collected a numerous body of Athole Highlanders, together with three hundred Frasers, under the command of Hugh, Lord Lovat, who

had married a daughter of the marquis. These men believed that they were destined to support the abdicated king, but were, in reality, assembled to serve the government of William. When in front of Blair Castle, their real destination was disclosed to them by Lord Tullibardine. Instantly they rushed from their ranks, ran to the adjoining stream of Banovy, and filling their bonnets with water, drank to the health of King James; then with colours flying and pipes playing, fifteen hundred of the men of Athole, as reputable for arms as any in the kingdom, put themselves under the command of the laird of Ballechin, and marched off to join Lord Dundee, whose chivalrous bravery and heroic exploits had excited their admiration more than those of any other warrior since the days of Montrose." Such was the conduct of men who have often been ignorantly represented as knowing no other rule or principle of action than a blind, unreasoning obedience to the arbitrary will of their chiefs, and who have sometimes been branded as slaves and barbarians by persons who were alike incapable of imitating their independence, and appreciating their real character.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF CLANS OBSCURE

The early history of the Highland clans, like that of most other tribes and races of men, is involved in great obscurity. The mists of time, thickening with its progress, have drawn a deep veil over that portion of it which enlightened curiosity is most desirous to explore; and the sagacity of modern criticism, aided by the faint and uncertain glimmerings of tradition, has been more signalized in plausible speculation and ingenious conjecture, than in dispelling doubts, removing difficulties, reconciling apparent contradictions, and thus preparing the way for the ultimate discovery of truth. In such inquiries, however, large allowances must always be made. Where there is so little that can be positively ascertained, and so much in regard to which we are left, in a great measure, in the dark, the inductive method is susceptible of only a limited application; and hence the doubtful aid of hypothesis must frequently be called in to supply a probable explanation, in those cases where the materials for strict investigation are wanting. To some this may appear unwarrantable in itself, and calculated rather to deepen the natural obscurity of the subject than to contribute anything towards its elucidation. But it should be remembered that every such hypothesis is, in reality, a step made in the career of generalization, and that it is by the careful and anxious comparison of different and often incompatible speculations, that truth is ultimately attained.

In examining the history of the Highland clans, it is impossible not to be struck with the great diversity of traditionary origin which has been ascribed to them. By some they are supposed to have been of Irish, and by others of Scandinavian, Norwegian, or Saxon descent; and nearly the same discrepancy of opinion has prevailed respecting the origin of particular clans. A considerable variety of systems has been promulgated, each supported by arguments and authorities more or less plausible and weighty, — almost every writer, who has directed his attention to the subject, appears to have formed a distinct hypothesis of his own, — and the only principle upon which all seem to be agreed, consists in attributing to these tribes a foreign origin. Nor is the difficulty lessened by considering that there has prevailed in the Highlands a succession of traditions respecting the origin of the different clans; and that though each of these in its turn has obtained a temporary credit in the country, none of them seems capable of being reconciled with the others, and all have been thought equally untenable. A circumstance so remarkable, and at the same time perplexing, naturally invites inquiry, and deserves investigation; more especially as there is probably no other instance to be found where the traditions of a people have undergone such successive changes, and where different systems have at different times sprung up amongst themselves respecting the common origin to which they laid claim, and insensibly passed into the popular belief as a portion of their national story.

I. The first of these is that which has been denominated the Scottish or Irish system. The immediate effect of the Scottish conquest was the overthrow of learning and civilization in the conquered country; and to this event succeeded a period of confusion and

civil war, during which all knowledge of the real origin of the clans seems to have been lost. But with the final triumph of the invaders anarchy and disorder ceased; — a race of kings of Scottish lineage was firmly established on the throne; — the country took its name from the people by whom it had been conquered; — all former distinctions merged in one general denomination; — and, in process of time, a belief in the Scottish origin of the Highland clans not only began to prevail, but appears to have been adopted even by the clans themselves. As a proof of the existence of such a tradition, Mr. Skene refers to a manuscript containing genealogies of most of the Highland clans, and supposed to have been written about the middle of the fifteenth century, in which the Macdonalds and their numerous dependents are derived from two sources; first, from Colla Uais, an Irish king of the fourth century; and, secondly, from Feradach Fion, and his son Fearchar Fada, king of the Dalriads of the line of Lorn, who reigned in the early part of the eighth century. But he states several reasons which have induced him to think "that this could not have been the true origin of these clans;" and that it must have been deduced from a system introduced by circumstances, and gradually adopted into the genealogical creed of the Highlanders. In the first place, the clans mentioned in this manuscript, and which seem to have occupied the greater part of the Highlands, including the extensive districts of Moray and Ross, are all deduced from the tribe of Lorn, as the parent stem. But although the Dalriads consisted of the three different tribes of Lorn, Cowal, and Kintyre, the last of which attained to great power, and eventually acquired supreme authority over all Scotland, it is well known that the tribe of Lorn, to which alone these clans are traced, had been nearly annihilated; and hence it is

not easy to conceive how the population of such immense districts as those of Moray and Ross could have sprung from so small and apparently so inadequate a source. Secondly, if the alleged descent of the clans from the Dalriadic tribe of Lorn be assumed as correct, their respective affinities, deduced from such an assumption, will be found to be totally irreconcilable with those which have been established by the most authentic documents. The clans which, according to the manuscript, sprang from the line of Lorn, were, first, the descendants of Fearchar Fada; and, secondly, those of a certain Cormac MacOirbertaigh, a kinsman of Fearchar. But in the latter class, the Rosses are stated as more nearly allied to the Macnabs than the Mackinnons, although there is no tradition of any connection having subsisted between them, and the distance of their respective abodes renders it improbable that such ever was the case; whereas, on the other hand, there exists a bond of manrent between the Macnabs and Mackinnons, founded upon their close connection and descent from two brothers. Thirdly, Mr. Skene has shown that the early parts of the different genealogies are incongruous and contradictory; a circumstance which seems to warrant the inference that the principle upon which they have been deduced is erroneous and unfounded. It appears, however, that, at the period to which the manuscript refers, there was an universal belief in the Highlands that the clans formed a distinct people, claiming identity of race, and all acknowledging one common origin. The clans mentioned in this document consist of three principal divisions: the Macdonells with the different families which sprung from them; the descendants of Fearchar Fada, inhabiting chiefly the ancient district of Moray; and the principal clans of Ross-shire, including that of Alpin sup-

THE DRUMMOND

posed to have been descended from Cormac MacOirbertaigh.

II. The next system of traditionary origin introduced into the Highlands is that which has been termed the heroic, but which may be more correctly characterized as the fabulous. This system supplanted the preceding, and consisted in deducing the principal Highland clans from the heroes celebrated in the fabulous histories of Scotland and Ireland. Some one of these heroes, who lived only in the songs of the bards or in the legends of romancing chroniclers, was identified with an ancestor of the clan who bore the same or a similar name; and as national vanity is easily flattered with the notion of high lineage, and seldom distrustful of so agreeable an imputation, the notion of an heroic origin soon obtained credit in the Highlands, and served, in some degree, to obliterate the remains of more rational though less imposing traditions. Thus the Macdonalds, who seem to have been the first to adopt this system, identified two of their ancestors, named Colla and Conn, with Colla Uais and Conn of the Hundred Battles, two fabulous kings of Ireland. The Macneills, improving on this example, maintained that their ancestor, who gave his name to the clan, was identical with Neill Naoi Giall, a king of Ireland, who, if he ever existed at all, must have reigned many centuries before one of the race had a being. The Macgregors, equally ambitious of a heroic origin, gave themselves out as the lineal descendants of Kenneth Macalpin, celebrated in fabulous story for his supposed extermination of the whole Pictish nation; an achievement which, of course, was devoutly believed by those who adopted this unsparing destroyer as the head and founder of their race. The Mackintoshes, the Mackenzies, the Macleans, and others also laid claim to a fabulous or heroic origin. The Mac-

intoshes who, in the manuscript above referred to, are represented as a part of the Clan Chattan, and descended from Gillechattan Mor, the great progenitor of the race, soon afterward discarded this lineage, and claimed as their ancestor, Macduff, Thane of Fife, a greater and more renowned hero than even Kenneth Macalpin himself, and, at the same time, not less apocryphal. Lastly, the Mackenzies and Macleans, finding the field of Scottish history preoccupied, and all its fabulous heroes forestalled, borrowed an ancestor from Ireland, and claimed descent from a certain Colin Fitzgerald, a scion of the noble family of Kildare, who is said to have mainly contributed to the victory of Largs, gained in the year 1266. These instances, furnished by Mr. Skene, are more than sufficient to show the true character of the heroic system of traditionary origin, and to satisfy every one that it was the mere offspring of national vanity, and altogether fabulous and imaginary. The Highlanders, however, may console themselves with the reflection that the poetical embellishment of their early annals is more or less peculiar to all nations. Niebuhr has reduced the ancient history of Rome to its true elements, disengaging the few facts which are still capable of being identified as such from the legends of fable and romance; and there can be little doubt that a similar course of rigid investigation would serve to abate much of the poetical splendour, which at once dazzles and captivates in the heroic story of ancient Greece.

III. The third system of Highland descent is that which may be termed the Norwegian or Danish, and which, unlike the former, is not the production of the Highland sennachies, or romancing genealogists. This system, which was first promulgated in the seventeenth century, appeared at a time when the fabulous history

of Scotland had begun to fall into utter discredit; when all the old traditions, which had been so long received with undoubting faith, were subjected to a rigorous skeptical investigation; and when antiquaries and genealogists, wearied with pursuing the phantoms of imagination, sought to ground their inquiries upon some solid foundation of facts. But in this they were not altogether fortunate. The notions, which then prevailed as to the extent of the Norwegian conquests and settlements in the north of Scotland, were at once vague and exaggerated; but they were nevertheless adopted, and made the foundation of a new system, in some respects as fanciful as those which had preceded it. Everything was imputed to the Scandinavians; every one was supposed to be descended from that people. The Macleods were honoured with a descent derived from the Norwegian kings of Man and the Isles; the Camerons were provided with an ancestor in Cambro, a Dane; the Grants were taught to rejoice in the renown of Acquin de Grandt, likewise a Dane, who was declared their progenitor; the Macdonalds were made descendants of the Norwegians of the Isles; and the Campbells, most favoured of all, had a Norman lineage assigned them, being sprung, it was alleged, from a Norman baron with the Italian name of Campobello. In this system much that was purely fanciful, or based upon vague analogies and accidental coincidences of names, was mixed up with a small portion of truth, which gave it a colour of probability, and ensured its reception amongst those who prefer the dogmatism of a theory to the labour of research and investigation.

IV. It thus appears that the ancient traditionary origin of the Highland clans having, in process of time, been abandoned, a new but visionary system was introduced, which, from its flattering the prejudices and

vanity of the people, gradually obtained general belief; and that the farther back we go the nearer we approach to the primary stream of tradition, according to which the Highland clans formed a peculiar and distinct nation, all the branches of which rejoiced in a common origin, whilst the mutual affinities of the clans were, through all changes of opinion and varieties of fortune, uniformly preserved. The real origin of the Highlanders may have been lost, and a different one received in the country as true, though in itself purely imaginary; and there may also have been a succession of traditions all differing from one another, and each at variance with the truth. This indeed is no more than we might have been prepared to expect, considering the condition, circumstances, and character of the people. But, however these changes and anomalies may be explained, it seems obvious that, even if the old manuscript genealogies be considered as affording at least presumptive evidence of the Highlanders having originally been all of one and the same race, yet, in order to ascertain what that race really was, other sources must be explored. The theory proposed by Mr. Skene has the merit of being constructed on this principle; and although the evidence produced in support of it falls far short of that "demonstration" to which the author pretends, and which, upon such a subject, is unattainable, it must, nevertheless, be admitted to possess the recommendations of ingenuity and originality. He contends that "the modern Highlanders are the same people with those who inhabited the Highlands of Scotland in the ninth and tenth centuries; and that these inhabitants were not Scots, as has been generally supposed, but were descendants of the great northern division of the Pictish nation, who were altogether unaffected by the Scottish conquest of the Lowlanders

in 843, and who in a great measure maintained the independence of the kings of that race." He also conceives that these modern Picts formed part of the great family of Caledonians, the most ancient inhabitants of the country, "and that they spoke the same language, and bore the same national appellation, with the present Highlanders." He then attempts to remove an objection which might be founded on the diversity of traditionary origin, and endeavours to reconcile with his theory the various systems which have, at different times, prevailed respecting the early history and descent of this people.

One objection to this theory, however, presents itself *in limine*, and deserves to be stated here with a view to the further elucidation of the subject. Supposing it were demonstrated, as Mr. Skene imagines has been done by himself, that the modern Highlanders are the descendants of the great northern division of the Pictish nation, and that the latter "were a part of the Caledonians, the most ancient inhabitants of the country," speaking the same language and having the same national characteristics with the present Highlanders; still the difficulty would not be solved, but only removed one step backwards; nor is it easy to conceive what purpose could be gained by, or what useful conclusion could be drawn from, such removal. If the Highlanders are really the same people with those who inhabited the northern mountains of Scotland in the ninth and tenth centuries, the question still remains: Who were those early inhabitants, and whence did they originally come? Mr. Skene indeed informs us that they were not Scots, as is generally supposed, but part of the Caledonians, the most ancient inhabitants of the country. This, however, is only shifting the place of the difficulty, without resolving it. It is like telling us that the earth

is supported on the back of a huge elephant, and that the elephant stands upon an enormous tortoise. The main question is, what supports the tortoise? The ingenious author stops short at the very point where it was most material that he should have prosecuted further his inquiries and researches. He has not explained how the Pictish nation came to consist of two great divisions, the northern and the southern, separated not only by geographical boundaries, but by the far more important distinctions of language and national character; how races differing so essentially came to coalesce into one and the same people; or how he ascertained that, at the time referred to, the northern Picts "spoke the same language, and bore the same national appellation with the present Highlanders." And, above all, he has made no attempt to trace the origin of the Caledonians, of whom the northern Picts are said to have formed a part; or to throw any light upon the history, character, and fortunes of "the most ancient inhabitants of the country," whom he abandons as *autochthones* or *indigenæ* to the curiosity of future inquirers. He leaves us indeed to infer that, as the northern Picts, the supposed ancestors of the modern Highlanders, formed part of the Caledonians, and, in the ninth and tenth centuries, spoke the same language and bore the same national appellation with the present Highlanders, the original race must have belonged to the great Celtic family once so extensively diffused, and afterward so universally beaten and expelled from the plains by more powerful invaders; but he contributes little or nothing to elucidate this, which, after all, is the *nodus* of the case, or the point to which the sagacity of critical inquiry should be mainly directed. Indeed all Mr. Skene's reasonings are more or less genealogical. He seldom ventures into the higher regions of criticism, or attempts any striking

generalization; but, within his own peculiar province, he evinces much ingenuity, and deviates from the beaten track with a boldness and originality seldom displayed in treating a subject where undue weight is almost always given to mere authority.

It is proper, however, that the views of a writer, who has so resolutely dared to think for himself, should be placed clearly and fully before our readers. Assuming that the Highlanders of the tenth century were the descendants of the northern Picts of the seventh and eighth, he conceives that they were divided into great tribes which inhabited those districts afterward known as earldoms; that these tribes had hereditary chiefs who appear under the title of maormors; that these maormors of the tenth century may be traced downwards in succession till the reign of David I, when, in compliance with Saxon customs, they assumed the title of *comites*, and became the first earls of Scotland; that in a few generations more almost all these great chiefs became extinct, leaving no male descendants; that then the different clans appear for the first time in these districts or earldoms, where they are found in a state of independence; that, consequently, the Highland clans were not of foreign origin, as some have supposed, but formed part of that original nation which was found in possession of the mountains of Scotland, at the date of the earliest historical records which have come down to our times; that they were divided into great tribes having each an hereditary chief; and that it was only when the line of these chiefs became extinct, and Saxon nobles came in their place, that the Highland clans appeared in the peculiar situation and character in which they were afterward found. Such is the view which Mr. Skene has given of the original division of the Highlanders into tribes, and the consequent,

though gradual introduction of clanship; and he conceives that it is corroborated by the tradition of a Pictish descent, which may still be traced in the Highlands, and which, in his opinion, "stamps the Dalriadic tradition as the invention of the Scottish monks," by whom, he thinks, it was first introduced.

The proofs which he produces of the existence of this tradition are certainly curious. In a letter dated 1542, and addressed to Henry VIII of England, by a person designating himself "John Elder, clerk, a Reddschanke," the writer mentions the "Yrische lords of Scotland, commonly called *Redd Schankes*, and by historiographers *Pictis;*" and then proceeds to give an account of the origin of the Highlanders, whom he describes as inhabiting Scotland, "befor the incummynge of Albanactus Brutus' second sonne," as having been "gyaunts and wylde people, without ordour, civilitie, or maners," who "spake no other language but the Yrische," and as having been civilized by Albanactus, from whom they were "callit Albonyghe." He adds, that this "derivacion the papistical curside spiritualtie of Scotland will not heir in no maner of wyse, nor confesse that ever such a king, namede Albanactus reagned ther, the which derivacion all the Yrische men of Scotland, which be the auncient stoke, cannot, nor will not, deny." It appears indeed that "the papistical curside spiritualtie" had a theory of its own. Elder continues thus: "But our said bussheps drywithe Scotland and them selfes, from a certain ladye named Scota, which, as they allege, came out of Egipte, a maraculous hotte cuntreth, to recreatt herself emonges theame in the colde ayre of Scotland, which they can not afferme by no probable auncient author." From these extracts it seems evident that, at the time to which they refer, there prevailed in Scotland two conflicting traditions respecting the

origin of the "Reddschankes" or Highlanders; the one supported by "all the Yrische men of Scotland" belonging to "the auncient stoke;" and the other maintained by "the papistical curside spiritualtie" of that country. And, from the great indignation with which the worthy "clerk" expresses himself against the "bussheps," it may further be inferred that the latter tradition, "which they can not afferme bv no probable auncient author," was then fast gaining ground on what he conceived to be the more orthodox belief as to the origin of the Highlanders. To this extent the deduction of Mr. Skene seems to be supported by the curious document on which he founds. But when he says that there must have existed amongst the purer Highlanders a still older tradition, by which their origin was derived from the "Pictis," we think he exceeds the limits of just inference prescribed by his premises. There can be little doubt that the Highlanders were, at that time, generally known by the name of "Reddschankes," a term which historiographers converted into "Pictis," as Elder states in his letter to Henry; but they are also called "the Yrische men of Scotland," a description which seems scarcely reconcilable with the supposition that the "Reddschankes" were identical with the people properly denominated "Pictis," although historiographers, writing in Latin, translated the one term into the other. There seems to be no doubt as to the existence of a still older tradition than that which is said to have been introduced by the "bussheps;" it may be questioned, however, whether, according to that tradition, the origin of the Highlanders was derived from the "Pictis," properly so called, seeing that the terms "Reddschankes" and "Pictis" are employed as synonymous to describe, not two different branches of the same race, but one and the same

people, denominated by Elder "the Yrische men of Scotland."

Mr. Skene, however, contends that the authority of John Elder not only proves the tradition of the descent of the Highlanders from the Picts to have existed in the Highlands before the Irish or Dalriadic system was introduced, but even enables us to ascertain the origin of the later system, and to assign the cause why it ultimately obtained universal assent. It appears, from Elder's letter to Henry, that the bishops and clergy of Scotland derived the descent of the Highlanders from the Scots of Dalriada; and also that the older Highland families, those of "the auncient stoke," held a different tradition. But the object of this letter was "to assure the King of England of support in the Highlands in his plans of obtaining influence in Scotland; and the Highland chiefs who held this older tradition are just those whom he afterward names to King Henry as in the English interest. Now it is very remarkable," continues Mr. Skene, "that the first trace of the Dalriadic system which we can discover, is in the famous letter addressed to the Pope in 1320, by the party who asserted the independence of Scotland. To this party the clergy of Scotland unquestionably belonged, while it is equally clear that the Highland chiefs, with very few exceptions, belonged to the English party; and upon comparing the traditionary history upon which Edward I founded his claim, and which of course his party in Scotland must have believed, we actually find it to be a part of the same tradition which John Elder asserts to have been held by the other Highland families, and which included a belief of their descent from the Picts. The cause of the prevalence of the Scottish story is now clear; for the question of the independence of Scotland having been most improperly placed by the

two parties on the truth of their respective traditions, it is plain that as the one party fell, so would the tradition which they asserted, that the final supremacy of the independent party in the Highlands as well as in the west of Scotland, and the total ruin of their adversaries, must have established the absolute belief in the descent of the Highlanders, as well as the kings and clergy of Scotland, from the Scots of Dalriada."

This is, no doubt, ingenious and plausible enough; but still it leaves several points of importance unexplained, or, in other words, proceeds upon assumptions which are not established. For, supposing it were true, as Mr. Skene contends, that the old Highland families entertained a belief of their descent from the Picts, it is not easy to see how such a genealogical notion should have led them to join the English party in an attempt to subvert the independence of their country; nor is it less difficult to understand why the kings and clergy of Scotland should have embraced the national cause merely because they believed themselves descended from the Scots of Dalriada. Where is the evidence of any community of origin, or any identity of feelings and interests between the English Saxons and the descendants of the northern Picts in the Highlands of Scotland? Where is the proof that the old Highland families were prepared to support the English monarchs in their plans for obtaining influence of Scotland, solely because they wished to vindicate this supposed descent? Would "the older tradition" have received any confirmation from the subjugation of Scotland? Is it by foreign conquest that the origin and descent of nations is established? What Mr. Skene considers as "clear" to "demonstration" appears, when closely examined, to be worse than doubtful. It is scarcely within the reach of credibility that two conflicting traditions,

as to origin and descent, should have brought into question the independence of Scotland; that the old Highlanders should have joined the English party, merely because they claimed to be the descendants of the northern Picts; or that the kings and clergy of Scotland should have declared against that party, because they believed themselves to have sprung from the Scots of Dalriada. Such a doctrine is too absurd to be seriously maintained. Besides, traditions do not commonly rise and fall with the fortunes of those by whom they are, or may have been, temporarily espoused. They are plants of hardier growth, and often become more deeply and firmly rooted in the soil from the storms to which they have been exposed. Like the ivy they adhere to the last fragment of the ruin, and perish only when every trace of the past is obliterated. Nations or tribes, who have been exposed to great calamities, or overpowered by hordes of ruthless invaders, naturally cling to the historical recollections of the past, and cherish more affectionately the traditions which have descended to them from ancient times. Adversity or defeat might therefore have strengthened, but would never have altogether destroyed a belief once entertained respecting their origin and descent; nor could "the absolute belief" of a contrary system have been established in consequence of "the final supremacy of the independent party," as Mr. Skene seems to have imagined.

But not to dwell longer upon matters too disputable ever to admit of a definitive and satisfactory adjustment, it may be sufficient to observe that, according to the manuscript genealogies of the Highland clans, the people were originally divided into several great tribes; that the clans forming each of these separate tribes were deduced from a common ancestor; and that

a marked line of distinction may be drawn between the different tribes, in each of which indications may be traced, serving more or less, according to Mr. Skene, to identify them with the maormorships or earldoms into which the north of Scotland was anciently divided.

This will appear from the distribution of the clans into different tribes conformably to the old genealogies. In these each tribe is invariably traced to a common ancestor, from whom all the different branches or clans are supposed to have equally descended. Thus we have, 1. *Descendants of Conn of the Hundred Battles,* including the Lords of the Isles, or Macdonalds, the Macdougals, the Macneills, the Maclachlans, the Macewens, the Maclairishes, and the Macearcherns. 2. *Descendants of Fearchar Fada MacFeradaig,* comprehending the old maormors of Moray, the Macintoshes, the Macphersons, and the Macnauchtans. 3. *Descendants of Cormac MacOirbertaig,* namely, the old Earls of Ross, the Mackenzies, the Mathiesons, the Macgregors, the Mackinnons, the Macquarries, the Macnabs, and the Macduffies. 4. *Descendants of Fergus Leith Dearg,* or the Macleods and the Campbells. And, 5. *Descendants of Kerycul,* or the Macnicols.

Whatever may be the merits or defects of this distribution, it is convenient for the purpose of classification. In giving a short account of the Highland clans, we shall, therefore, take the various great tribes into which the Highlanders were originally divided, in the order in which they appear in the genealogies, and under the head of each tribe advert to the different clans of which it was composed, at the time when they first assumed a distinctive and independent character. This scheme presents various advantages. The principle of classification on which it proceeds is not only simple in itself, but is that which authority has sanctioned. It affords

the means of referring the different clans to their respective tribes, and thus avoiding an arbitrary arrangement, or the suspicion of undue preference; and it is further in accordance with the general views which have already been submitted to the reader respecting the original constitution of clanship, and the various traditions which have at different times prevailed in the Highlands concerning the origin, descent, and affinities of the people of that country.

It is proper to observe, however, that the arrangement here adopted is rather technical than philosophical. It is not in questionable genealogies or contradictory traditions, in poetical descents or legendary romances, that the philosopher must seek for the elements of his investigations. His peculiar province is separated by a strong line of demarcation from this fanciful and shadowy region; and it is from indestructible physical characteristics, from the effects of climate, condition, and food, from the remains of language, or the affinities found to subsist between different varieties of speech, that he must draw the materials out of which his generalizations are to be formed. As a scheme of description chiefly, the plan we have proposed is as good as any other; but considered in a philosophical point of view, it would scarcely deserve refutation. It is proper that this distinction should be kept fully in view.

CHAPTER III

EARLY GAELIC CLANS

No sooner does a faint morning light begin to dawn upon the early history of the north of Scotland, than we discern traces of a people to whom the Irish annalists give the name of Gall-gael, or Gaul-gall, and who appear to have been a piratical race. The term *Gaul*, or *Gall*, originally signifying a *stranger*, appears to have been applied to every description of pirate or rover; it is, in fact, a sort of generic term, which is rendered specific by the particular name with which it happens to be conjoined. Thus, the northern pirates were known by the names of Fingall and Dugall, the former denomination having been applied to the Norwegians, and the latter to the Danes; and these white and black "strangers," or buccaneers, were again distinguished from the Gaulgall or Gallgael, that is, the Gaelic pirates. The latter are mentioned for the first time, in the Irish annals of the year 855, when we find them leagued with the Irish against the Norwegians; and, in 856, they appear again under their leader, Caittil-Fin, in a state of hostility with the Norwegian Vikingr of Dublin. In 1034, Tighernac notices the death of Suibne, the son of Kenneth, king of the Gaulgael; and, in 1154, mention is made of an expedition to Ireland, undertaken by the Gaelgall of Arran, Kintyre, Man, and the Cantair Alban. But the name of Cantair Alban being equivalent to that of Oirir Alban, or Oirir Gael, which is applied by other writers, and likewise to the Ergadia of the

Scottish historians, it seems to follow that the Gaulgael were the inhabitants of the Western Isles and of Argyle.[4] This is confirmed by the authority of Arefrodi, who states, that when Harold Harfagr took his departure, the Western Isles were occupied by the Vikingr Skotar, or Scottish rovers, who were no doubt identical with the Gaulgael, since both names are in fact synonymous. Hence it may be concluded, firstly, that, from the date of the Scottish conquest in the ninth century, and for a considerable period afterward, the Gaulgael occupied the Western Isles and the district of Argyle; and secondly, that they were not Norwegians but native Scots, or Vikingr Skotar, that is, Scottish pirates.

In the ninth century, therefore, the Gaulgael were undoubtedly independent; and as a king of this race is mentioned in the beginning of the eleventh century, it has been conjectured by Mr. Skene, that, in the interval, the kings of the Isles were of the stock of the Gaulgael. The first king of the Isles of whom mention is made, was Anlaf, who, in conjunction with the Scottish king, Constantine, attempted to obtain possession of Northumberland, but was defeated by Athelstan, king of the Saxons, in 938. Anlaf is styled, by the Saxon historians, "the king of many islands;"[5] and, in the Egilla Saga, he is not only denominated a king of Scotland, but he is also described as the son of "a native Scot" by a Danish mother, a descendant of Regnar Lodbrog. Anlaf was the son of Sidroc, whom the Danes had put in possession of Northumberland. But as he is called by the Irish annalists the grandson of Ivar, who, as is well-known, was a son of Regnar Lodbrog, it follows, from the passage in the Saga, above referred to, that Sidroc must have been a native Scot of the race of the Gaulgael, who had married the daughter of Ivar, the principal leader or chief of the Danish

pirates, and had by him been made king of the Northumbrians. It further appears that Sidroc was the brother of Nial, the king of the Gaulgael, whom he put to death in 934; that at the time when he committed this fratricide, he was in possession of Northumberland; and that Nial was succeeded, not by his brother Sidroc, but by his nephew Anlaf. In corroboration of this view, Mr. Skene has referred to the Manx traditions, one of which, mentioned by Sacheveral in his work upon the "Isle of Man," and confirmed by the *Lodbrogar-quida*, or record of the piratical expeditions of Regnar Lodbrog, shows clearly that a native tribe, denominated Gaulgael, had, under one of their kings, taken possession of the Western Isles, and likewise of Man, shortly after the date of the Scottish conquest in the year 843. But as the Caledonians, according to this ingenious writer, inhabited the ancient and extensive district of Argyle, with the exception only of Dalriada, which, after the Scottish conquest, was surrounded by them on every side; and as the Gaulgael are represented as having possessed Argyle, as well as the Western Isles, he contends, plausibly enough, that the Gaulgael must have belonged to the great northern branch of the Pictish nation, from which he deduces the origin of most of the clans; and, from other considerations, he concludes that the territories occupied by the Gaulgael in the ninth century were pretty nearly commensurate with, and in fact constituted the diocese of Dunkeld, to which, on the conquest of the southern Picts, the primacy had been transferred by Kenneth Macalpin. He therefore conceives that when the Southern Picts were conquered by the Scots, that the latter obtained possession of Dalriada, which, along with their previous possessions in Lochaber and Wester Ross, now received the name of *Oirir-Gael*

(coast-lands of the Gael), in contradistinction to their inland possessions in Athole; and that, having thus occupied Dalriada, they soon afterward made themselves masters of the Western Isles. This, it will be observed, is pretty nearly an inversion of the common belief on the subject. It is putting as a consequent what was formerly conceived to have been an antecedent of the Scottish conquest; and, whatever may be thought of the arguments upon which the hypothesis is founded, it certainly has the merit of placing in a new light a question which was supposed to have been, if not settled, at least exhausted.

The ancient district of Argyle, which consisted of the present county of that name, with the districts of Lochaber and Wester Ross, was known to the Highlanders by the names of Cantair, Oirir, Alban, and sometimes Oirir-Gael, from which last the modern name appears to have been derived. Wester Ross was termed Oirir-an-tuath, or the northern coast-lands; and the remaining portion received the name of Oirir-an-dheas, or southern coast-lands, probably because both divisions formed the maritime territories of the Gaulgael. By the Scottish historians the whole of this extensive district was included under the general name of Ergadia; although, for the sake of distinction, the northern division was denominated Ergadia Borealis, and the southern, Ergadia Australis. When the Sassenach policy was introduced into Scotland, and the whole country divided into sheriffdoms, the government, having a very insecure footing in the Highlands, were unable to distribute that portion of the kingdom into a number of such jurisdictions, as had been done in the Lowlands, and by this means to enforce obedience to the laws. But the principles of that policy required that an attempt should at least be made to bring the whole country

nominally under one uniform system; that is, to commence an administrative and judicial organization which time might eventually extend, improve, and consolidate; and accordingly the whole of the Highlands was now divided into two sheriffdoms, namely, those of Inverness and Perth, the former including the districts north of the Mounth, or interior chain of the Grampians, and the other, the districts to the southward of that range of mountains. This, it must be obvious, was merely a nominal distribution; a geographical, rather than a judicial or political division. But under it the Highlands remained until the reign of Alexander II, when, in order to bring that country into subjection to the government and laws, the Scottish monarch instituted the additional sheriffdoms of Elgin, Nairn, Banff, Cromarty, and Argyle. It thus appears that prior to the reign of Alexander II the districts of northern and southern Argyle were included in separate sheriffdoms, the former being within the jurisdiction of Inverness, and the latter within that of Perth; but that, after the distribution referred to, both divisions were comprehended within the same sheriffdom, the territory or jurisdiction of which was defined by their recognized boundaries.

The great district here described was at the time referred to inhabited by a number of powerful clans, particularly the Macdonalds, and other branches of the same race, who, for a very long period, exercised an almost regal sway in these wild and unsubdued regions. These different clans and septs or branches of clans, were all included under the generic denomination of *Siol-Cuinn*, or race of Conn, being supposed, in the genealogies, to be the descendants of Conn of the Hundred Battles.

The race of Conn have been claimed by the Irish

Sennachies, on the one hand, and represented as of Norwegian extraction on the other. But the advocates of their genealogical pretensions reject both imputations. It is denied that either of these hypotheses is borne out by sound argument or valid authority. The Macdonalds and other clans of the same race, cannot, it is said, be convicted of an Irish origin, upon the credit merely of a vague tradition, and against the supposed improbability that a tribe possessing extensive territories in Scotland should have been of foreign origin, or that if such had been the case, history would have been altogether silent as to their arrival and settlement in the country. Nor has the Norwegian theory been in any respect more favourably received. It is not disputed indeed that a close connection subsisted at all times between the Macdonalds and the Norwegians of the Isles; but this, it has been contended, does not warrant any inference as to community of origin, which could only have been imputed by overlooking the fact, "that when the Danish and Norwegian pirates ravaged the shores of Scotland, and brought its inhabitants under subjection, the conquered Gael in some degree adopted the Norwegian habits of piracy, and frequently took an active share in their predatory expeditions." It is not easy to decide between these conflicting opinions. In questions of this kind it is often tradition against tradition; and it is certainly a difficult matter to lay down any rule of criticism by which we may be enabled to decide in favour of one and against another.

But be this as it may, the accredited traditions of the Macdonald seem adverse to either supposition, at least within the limits which are assigned to each respectively. According to the theory of Mr. Skene, the whole of the Highlands, including of course the districts possessed by the people called Gaulgael, were inhabited by the

northern Picts, as late as the eleventh century. But in the middle of the twelfth century, Somerled and his sons, the chiefs of the Macdonalds, were called the Dalveria Aet, or Dalverian family, from Dala the Norwegian name for the district of Argyle; and hence it is inferred that at the period in question they must have been for some time in possession of that district. According to this view, they were either the descendants of the Pictish inhabitants of Argyle, or if of foreign extraction, they must have entered the country previously to the commencement of the ninth century.

As to the family tradition, there is unquestionable evidence of its existence. Thus, in the year 1596, James Macdonell of Denluce, addressing James VI, says, "Most mightie and potent prince, recomend us unto your hieness with our service, for ever your grace shall understand that our forbears hathe been from time to time [that is, from time immemorial] servants unto your owne kingdom of Scotland." And in 1615, Sir James Macdonald of Kintyre, in a letter addressed to the Bishop of the Isles, declares that his race has been "tenne hundred years kyndlie Scottismen under the kings of Scotland." These authorities seem decisive as to the tradition or belief of the family; but supposing that the fullest effect were given to this tradition, the question of origin would only be carried back to the seventh century, where the historical archeologist, being without any light to guide him, would be obliged to leave it. From the statement of John Elder, however, it appears that the Macdonalds were included in the "auncient stoke," who still retained a tradition of Pictish descent; and that they formed part of the great tribe of Gaulgael seems probable enough from the circumstance that, in the last mention which is made of this race, they are described as then inhabiting Argyle, Kintyre, Arran,

and Man, which were the territories actually possessed by Somerled. This creates a pretty strong presumption in favour of their identity, notwithstanding a discrepancy to which we shall have occasion immediately to advert. Assuming that the clan governed by Somerled formed part of the great tribe of Gaulgael, it follows that the independent kings of the latter must in all probability have been his ancestors, and should therefore be found in the old genealogies of his family. But this scarcely appears to be the case. The last king of the Gaulgael was Suibne, the son of Kenneth, who died in the year 1034; and, according to the manuscript of 1450, an ancestor of Somerled, contemporary with this petty monarch, bore the same name; from which it may be presumed that the person referred to in the genealogy and the manuscript is one and the same individual. The latter, however, calls Suibne's father Nialgusa; and in the genealogy there is no mention whatever of a Kenneth. But from the old Scottish writers, we learn, that at this time there was a Kenneth Thane of the Isles, and that one of the northern maormors also bore the same name; although it is not very easy to say what precise claim either had to be considered as the father of Suibne. There is also a further discrepancy observable in the earlier part of the Macdonald genealogies as compared with the manuscript; and, besides, the latter, without making any mention of these supposed kings, deviates into the misty region of Irish heroic fable and romance. At this point indeed, there is a complete divergence, if not contrariety, between the history as contained in the Irish annals, and the genealogy developed in the manuscript; for, whilst the latter mentions the Gaulgael under their leaders as far back as the year 856, the former connect Suibne, by a different genealogy, with the kings of Ireland. The fables of the Highland

and Irish Sennachies now became connected with the genuine history. The real descent of the chiefs was obscured or perplexed by the Irish genealogies; and previously to the eleventh century neither these genealogies nor even that of the manuscript of 1450 can be considered as of any authority whatsoever. It seems somewhat rash, however, to conclude, as Mr. Skene has done, that the Siol-Cuinn, or descendants of Conn, were of native origin. This exceeds the warrant of the premises, which merely carry the difficulty a few removes backwards into the obscurity of time, and there leave the question in greater darkness than ever.

From the death of Suibne till the accession of Gillebride Mac Gille Adomnan, the grandfather of Somerled, nothing whatever is known of the history of the clan. The latter, having been expelled from his possessions by the Lochlans and the Fingalls, took refuge in Ireland, where he persuaded the descendants of Colla, consisting of Macquarries and Macmahons, to espouse his quarrel and assist him in an attempt to recover his possessions. Accordingly, four or five hundred persons put themselves under his command, and at their head he returned to Alban, where he effected a landing; but the expedition, it would seem, proved unsuccessful. Somerled, the son of Gillebride, was, however, a man of a very different stamp. At first he lived retired, musing in solitude upon the ruined fortunes of his house. But when the time for action arrived, he boldly put himself at the head of the inhabitants of Morven; attacked the Norwegians, whom, after a considerable struggle, he expelled; made himself master of the whole of Morven, Lochaber, and northern Argyle; and not long afterward added to his other possessions the southern districts of that country. In the year 1035, when David I expelled the Norwegians from Man, Arran, and Bute, Somerled

appears to have obtained a grant of those islands from the king. But finding himself still unable to contend with the Norwegians of the Isles, whose power remained unbroken, he resolved to recover by policy, what he despaired of acquiring by force of arms; and, with this view, he succeeded in obtaining by stratagem, the hand of the daughter of Olaf, surnamed the Red, who was then the Norwegian king of the Isles. The lady thus fraudulently seized and forcibly married, brought him three sons, namely, Dugall, Reginald, and Angus; and by a previous marriage he had one named Gillecallum.

The prosperous fortunes of Somerled at length inflamed his ambition. He had already attained to great power in the Highlands, and success inspired him with the desire of extending it. His grandsons having formerly claimed the earldom of Moray, their pretensions were now renewed; and this was followed by an attempt to put them in actual possession of their alleged inheritance. The attempt, however, failed. It had brought the *regulus* of Argyle into open rebellion against the king, and the war appears to have excited great alarm amongst the inhabitants of Scotland; but Somerled, having encountered a more vigorous opposition than he had anticipated, found it necessary to return to the Isles, where the tyrannical conduct of his brother-in-law, Godred, had irritated his vassals and thrown everything into confusion. His presence gave confidence to the party opposed to the tyrant; and Thorfinn, one of the most powerful of the Norwegian nobles, resolved to depose Godred, and place another prince on the throne of the Isles. Somerled readily entered into the views of Thorfinn, and it was arranged that Dugall, the eldest son of the former, should occupy the throne from which his maternal uncle was to be displaced. But the result

of the projected deposition did not answer the expectations of either party. Dugall was committed to the care of Thorfinn, who undertook to conduct him through the Isles, and compel the chiefs not only to acknowledge him as their sovereign, but also to give hostages for their fidelity and allegiance. The Lord of Skye, however, refused to comply with this demand, and, having fled to the Isle of Man, apprised Godred of the intended revolution. Somerled followed with eight galleys; and Godred having commanded his ships to be got ready, a bloody but indecisive battle ensued. It was fought on the night of the Epiphany; and as neither party prevailed, the rival chiefs next morning entered into a sort of compromise or convention, by which the sovereignty of the Isles was divided, and two distinct principalities established. By this treaty Somerled acquired all the islands lying to the southward of the promontory of Ardnamurchan, whilst those to the northward remained in the possession of Godred.

But no sooner had he made this acquisition than he became involved in hostilities with the government. Having joined the powerful party in Scotland, which had resolved to depose Malcolm IV and place the boy of Egremont on the throne, he began to infest various parts of the coast, and for some time carried on a vexatious predatory warfare. The project, however, failed; and Malcolm, convinced that the existence of an independent chief was incompatible with the interests of his government and the maintenance of public tranquillity, required of Somerled to resign his lands into the hands of the sovereign, and to hold them in future as a vassal of the Crown. Somerled, however, was little disposed to comply with this demand, although the king was now preparing to enforce it by means of a powerful army. Emboldened by his previous successes, he resolved to

anticipate the attack, and having appeared in the Clyde with a considerable force, he landed at Renfrew, where being met by the royal army under the command of the High Steward of Scotland, a battle ensued which ended in his defeat and death. This celebrated chief has been traditionally described as "a well-tempered man, in body shapely, of a fair piercing eye, of middle stature, and of quick discernment." He appears, indeed, to have been equally brave and sagacious, tempering courage with prudence, and, excepting in the last act of his life, distinguished for the happy talent, rare at any period, of profiting by circumstances, and making the most of success. In the battle of Renfrew his son Gillecallum perished by his side, leaving a son, Somerled, who succeeded to his grandfather's possessions.

These were very considerable, comprehending the whole of the district of Argyle, the original possession of the clan, and also that portion of the Western Isles, termed the Sudereys. For upwards of half a century after the death of Somerled, his grandson remained in undisturbed enjoyment of this princely inheritance, without offering any decided opposition to the government, yet covertly countenancing the numerous rebellions by which that period was distracted. In 1221, however, having taken a more active part in one of these insurrections, he brought upon himself the undivided vengeance of the government. But the first attempt made by Alexander proved unsuccessful. The king, having collected an army in Lothian and Galloway, sailed for Argyle, intending to disembark his force, and penetrate into the interior of the country; but his ships having been overtaken by a storm, he was driven back and forced to take refuge in the Clyde. Nothing discouraged, however, he now resolved to proceed by land, and entering Argyle, at the head of a large force,

he made himself master of the whole country. Somerled, unable to offer any effectual resistance, took refuge in his insular dominions; where, eight years afterward, he perished by violence, though in what manner we are not informed. The results of this conquest were the subjugation of Argyle to the authority of the government, and the erection of that country into a sheriffdom, in conformity with the invariable policy of Alexander II. Those who had previously held their possessions of Somerled now submitted to the king and became Crown vassals; the forfeited estates were brought under the direct jurisdiction of the government by means of the new sheriffdom; and certain districts, which had belonged to the native lords or proprietors, were bestowed upon strangers, as a reward for their having joined the expedition against Argyle.

The power of the Macdonalds on the mainland being thus completely broken, the clan now turned their regards to the race of Dugall, which remained in undisturbed possession of the Isles acquired by Somerled as their head. Dugall, the eldest son of his father by the second marriage, possessed not only the Isles, but also the district of Lorn, which had been allotted as his share of the territories belonging to his ancestors. On his death, however, the Isles, instead of descending immediately to his children, were acquired by his brother Reginald, who in consequence assumed the title of King of the Isles; but by the same law of succession, the death of Reginald restored to his nephews the inheritance of their father. Dugall left two sons, Dugall Scrag and Duncan, who appear in the northern Sagas, under the title of the Sudereyan kings. They appear to have acknowledged, at least nominally, the authority of the Norwegian king of the Hebrides; but actually they maintained an almost entire independence. Haco, the

King of Norway, therefore, came to the determination of reducing them to obedience and subjection; a design in which he proved completely successful. In a night-attack the Norwegians defeated the Sudereyans, and having slain Somerled, took Dugall prisoner.

Duncan was now the only member of his family who retained any power in the Sudereys; but nothing is known of his subsequent history except that he founded the priory of Ardchattan, in Lorn. He was succeeded by his son Ewen, who appears to have remained more faithful to the Norwegian kings than his predecessors had shown themselves; for, when solicited by Alexander II to join him in an attempt he meditated to obtain possession of the Western Isles, Ewen resisted all the promises and entreaties of the king, and on this occasion preserved inviolate his allegiance to Haco. Alexander, it is well known, died in Kerreray, when about to commence an attack upon the Isles, and was succeeded by his son, Alexander III. When the latter had attained majority, he resolved to renew the attempt which his father had begun, and with this view, excited the Earl of Ross, whose possessions extended along the mainland opposite to the Northern Isles, to commence hostilities against them. The earl willingly engaged in the enterprise, and having landed in Skye, ravaged the country, burned churches and villages, and put to death numbers of the inhabitants without distinction of age or sex. Haco soon appeared with a Norwegian force, and was joined by most of the Highland chiefs. But Ewen, having altered his views, excused himself from taking any part against the force sent by the Scottish king; and the unfortunate termination of Haco's expedition justified the prudence of this timely change. In the year 1266, the Norwegians were completely defeated by the Scots at the battle of Largs; and the

Isles were, in consequence of this event, finally ceded to the kings of Scotland. This event, however, rather increased than diminished the power of Ewen, who profited by his seasonable defection from the Norwegians, and was favoured by the government to which that defection had been useful. But he died without any male issue to succeed him, leaving only two daughters, one of whom married the Norwegian king of Man, and the other, Alexander of the Isles, a descendant of Reginald.

These historical notices may perhaps be found to possess little interest or attraction to the general reader, who can scarcely be supposed to enter with much satisfaction into details, however brief and condensed, respecting the policy, the conduct, and the fortunes of chiefs, whose exploits live only in doubtful traditions, or scarcely less questionable genealogies. But they are nevertheless indispensable to the completion of the general design of this work, which has for its object to embrace the history of the Highlands, in all its various branches; and they are further necessary in order to preserve unity and sequence in the accounts of the respective clans which divided amongst them the region of the mountains and the islands. Nor, to those who consider society in all its forms as a subject of enlightened and liberal inquiry, will they be found altogether devoid of instruction; inasmuch as amidst predatory expeditions, frequent insurrections, and a sort of chronic *guerre de chicane*, may be discovered traits of character, conduct, and policy, which are worthy of preservation, as well as the elements of institutions, which, acquiring strength and consistency from time, had no small influence on the general character and habits of the people. Besides, the history of the Highlands is connected at so many points with the history of

Scotland, more especially in the earlier times of the monarchy, that the latter can never be divorced from the former, nor even read with due intelligence except in connection with it, and as a sort of secondary branch of the same subject.

CHAPTER IV

STRUGGLES FOR SUPREMACY

The conquest of Argyle by Alexander II, and the subsequent annexation of the Western Islands to the kingdom of Scotland, under the reign of his successor, annihilated the power of the race of Conn as an independent tribe; and, from the failure of the male descendants of Dugall in the person of Ewen, had the effect of dividing the clan into three distinct branches, the heads of which held their lands of the Crown. These were the Clan Rory, the Clan Donald, and the Clan Dugall, so called from three sons of Ranald or Reginald, the son of Somerled by his second wife, of whom they were or believed themselves to be, descended.

Of this Ranald or Reginald, but little comparatively is known. Upon the death of Somerled, the superiority of Argyle fell to his grandson of the same name, whilst that of the Isles descended in the right line to his son Dugall. But, according to the Highland custom of gavel, his property was divided amongst all his sons; and in this division, the portion which fell to the share of Reginald appears to have consisted of the Island of Islay, with Kintyre and part of Lorn on the mainland. Contemporary with Reginald there was a Norwegian king of Man and the Isles, who, being called by the same name, is liable to be confounded with the head of the Siol Cuinn. Reginald, after the death of his brother Dugall, was designated as Lord, and sometimes even as King, of the Isles; and he had likewise the title of Lord

of Argyle and Kintyre, in which last capacity he granted certain lands to an abbey that had been founded by himself at Saddel in Kintyre. But these titles did not descend to his children. He was succeeded by his eldest son Roderick, who, on the conquest of Argyle, agreed to hold his lands off the Crown, and afterward was commonly styled Lord of Kintyre. In this Roderick the blood of the Norwegian rovers seems to have revived in all its pristine purity. Preferring " the good old way, the simple plan " to more peaceful and honest pursuits, he became one of the most noted pirates of the day, and the annals of the period are filled with accounts of his predatory expeditions. But his sons, Dugall and Allan, had the grace not to follow the vocation of their father, for which they do not seem to have evinced any predilection. Dugall, having given important aid to Haco in his expedition against the Western Isles, obtained in consequence a considerable increase of territory, and died without descendants. Allan succeeded to the possessions of this branch of the race of Conn, and, upon the annexation of the Isles to the Crown of Scotland, transferred his allegiance to Alexander III, along with the other chiefs of the Hebrides.

Allan left one son, Roderick, of whom almost nothing is known, except that he was not considered as legitimate by the feudal law, and in consequence was succeeded in his lordship of Garmoran by his daughter Christina. Yet the custom or law of the Highlands, according to which his legitimacy could " moult no feather," had still sufficient force amongst the people to induce the daughter to legalize her father's possession of the lands by a formal resignation and reconveyance, a circumstance which shows how deeply it had taken root in the habits and the opinions of the people. Roderick, however, incurred the penalty of forfeiture during the

reign of Robert Bruce, "probably," as Mr. Skene thinks, "from some connection with the Soulis conspiracy of 1320;" but his lands were restored to his son Ranald by David II. Ranald, however, did not long enjoy his extensive possessions. Holding of the Earl of Ross some lands in North Argyle, he unhappily became embroiled with that powerful chief, and a bitter feud, engendered by proximity, arose between them. In that age, the spirit of hostility seldom remained long inactive. In 1346, David II, having summoned the barons of Scotland to meet him at Perth, Ranald, like the others, obeyed the call, and having made his appearance attended by a considerable body of men, took up his quarters at the monastery of Elcho, a few miles distant from the Fair City. To the Earl of Ross, who was also with the army, this seemed a favourable opportunity for revenging himself on his enemy; and accordingly having surprised and entered the monastery in the middle of the night, he slew Ranald, along with seven of his followers. This midnight murder, perpetrated in a religious house, within a few miles of the place where the king then resided, and apparently followed by no attempt to bring the murderer to justice, conveys a fearful picture of the horrid license of those barbarous times. By the death of Ranald, the male descendants of Roderick became extinct; and John of the Isles, the chief of the Clan Donald, who had married Amy, the only sister of Ranald, now claimed the succession to that principality.

The Clan Donald derive their origin from a son of Reginald, who appears to have inherited South Kintyre, and the island of Islay; but little is known of their history until the annexation of the Isles to the Crown in the year 1266. According to Highland tradition, Donald made a pilgrimage to Rome to do penance, and obtain

absolution for the various enormities of his former life; and, on his return, evinced his gratitude and piety by making grants of land to the monastery of Saddel and other religious houses in Scotland. He was succeeded by his son, Angus Mor, who, on the arrival of Haco with his fleet, immediately joined the Norwegian king, and assisted him during the whole of the expedition; yet, when a treaty of peace was afterward concluded between the kings of Norway and Scotland, he does not appear to have suffered in consequence of the part which he took in that enterprise. In the year 1284 he appeared at the convention by which the Maid of Norway was declared heiress of the crown, and obtained as the price of his support on that occasion a grant of Ardnamurchan, a part of the earldom of Garmoran, and the confirmation of his father's and grandfather's grants to the monastery of Saddel. Angus left two sons, Alexander and Angus Og. Alexander, by a marriage with one of the daughters of Ewen of Ergadia, acquired a considerable addition to his possessions; but having joined the Lord of Lorn in his opposition to the claims of Robert Bruce, be became involved in the ruin of that chief; and being obliged to surrender to the king, he was imprisoned in Dundonald castle, where he died. His whole possessions were forfeited, and given to his brother, Angus Og, who, having attached himself to the party of Bruce, now received the reward of his fidelity and devotion. After the defeat of Methven, and the subsequent unfortunate skirmish with the men of Lorn at Tyndrum, Bruce was received by Angus in his castle of Dunaverty, and there sheltered until he found it necessary to take refuge in the island of Rachlin. His fortunes were now at the lowest ebb; but the reflux having soon afterward commenced, Angus, who had remained faithful in the hour of adversity, shared in the

glory which crowned the subsequent enterprises of Bruce. He assisted in the attack upon Carrick, when the king recovered "his father's hall;" and he was present at Bannockburn, where, at the head of his clan, he formed the reserve, and did battle "stalwart and stout," on that never-to-be-forgotten day. Bruce, having at length reaped the reward of all his toils and dangers, and conquered the independence of Scotland, was not unmindful of those who had participated in the struggle thus victoriously consummated. Accordingly, he bestowed upon Angus the lordship of Lochaber, which had belonged to the Comyns, together with the lands of Durrour and Glenco, and the islands of Mull, Tyree, etc., which had formed part of the possessions of the family of Lorn. Prudence might have restrained the royal bounty. The family of the Isles were already too powerful for subjects; but the king suffered not considerations of policy to prevent him from testifying his grateful estimation of services rendered at his utmost need; and, secure of the attachment and fidelity of Angus, he contented himself with making the permission to erect a castle or fort at Tarbet in Kintyre a condition of the grants which he had made. This distinguished chief died early in the fourteenth century, leaving two sons, John his successor, and John Og, the ancestor of the Macdonalds of Glenco.

Angus, as we have already seen, had all his life been a steady friend to the Crown, and had profited by his fidelity. But his son John does not seem to have inherited the loyalty along with the power, dignities, and possessions of his father. Having had some dispute with the regent concerning certain lands which had been granted by Bruce, he, in resentment of this opposition, joined the party of Edward Baliol, and the English king; and, by a formal treaty concluded on the 12th

of December, 1335, and confirmed by Edward III on the 5th October, 1336, engaged to support the pretensions of the former, in consideration of a grant of the lands and islands claimed by the Earl of Moray, besides certain other advantages. But all the intrigues of Edward were baffled; Scotland was entirely freed from the dominion of the English; and, in the year 1341, David II was recalled from France to assume the undisputed sovereignty of his native country. Upon his accession to the throne, David, anxious to attach to his party the most powerful of the Scottish barons, concluded a treaty with John of the Isles, who, in consequence, pledged himself to support his government. But a circumstance soon afterward occurred, which threw him once more into the interest of Baliol and the English party. In 1346, Ranald of the Isles having been slain at Perth by the Earl of Ross, as already mentioned, John, who had married his sister Amy, immediately laid claim to the succession. The government, however, unwilling to aggrandize a chief already too powerful, determined to oppose indirectly his pretensions, and evade the recognition of his claim. It is unnecessary to detail the pretexts employed, or the obstacles which were raised by the government. Their effect was to restore to the party of Baliol one of its most powerful adherents, and to enable John in the meanwhile to concentrate in his own person nearly all the possessions of his ancestor Somerled.

But ere long a most remarkable change took place in the character and position of the different parties or factions, which at that time divided Scotland. The epoch of the change in question was the return of David II from captivity in England. Before this period, 1357, the government and the principal barons had almost invariably evinced the most determined hos-

tility to the claims of England; the adherents of Baliol, and the advocates of English supremacy, consisting of a small faction of the nobility who were in opposition to the court. But on the return of David, the situation of parties became materially altered, or rather, they in some measure changed places. The King of Scotland now appeared in the extraordinary and unnatural character of a mere tool or partisan of Edward, and even seconded covertly the endeavours of the English king to overturn the independence of Scotland. History presents but few examples of such inconceivable baseness; and it is humiliating to find, in the immediate successor of the hero of Bannockburn, the total extinction of that patriotic spirit, which had secured the triumph of the national arms, and shed immortal glory upon the national name. Its effect, however, was to throw into active opposition the party which had hitherto supported the throne and the cause of independence; and, on the other hand, to secure to the enemies of both, the favour and countenance of the king. But as soon as by this interchange the English party became identified with the royal faction, John of the Isles abandoned it, and formed a connection with that party to which he had for many years been openly opposed. At the head of the national party was the steward of Scotland, who, being desirous of strengthening himself by alliances with the more powerful barons, hailed the accession of John to his interests as an extraordinary piece of good fortune, and cemented their union by giving to the Lord of the Isles his own daughter in marriage. The real aim of this policy was not for a moment misunderstood; but any open manifestation of force was at first cautiously avoided. At length, in 1366, when the heavy burdens imposed upon the people to raise the ransom of the king had produced general

discontent, and David's jealousy of the steward had displayed itself by throwing into prison the acknowledged successor to the throne, the northern barons broke out into open rebellion, and refused either to pay the tax imposed, or to obey the king's summons to attend the Parliament.

In this state matters remained for some time, when David, finding that the northern barons had assumed an attitude of independence, applied to the steward, as the only person capable of restoring peace to the country, and, at the same time, commissioned him to put down the rebellion. The latter, satisfied that his objects would be more effectually forwarded by steady opposition to the court than by avowedly taking part with the insurgents, accepted the commission, and employed every means in his power to reduce the refractory barons to obedience. His efforts, however, were only partially successful. The Earls of Mar and Ross, and other northern barons, whose object was now attained, at once laid down their arms; John of Lorn, and Gillespie Campbell, likewise gave in their submission; but the Lord of the Isles, secure in the distance and inaccessible nature of his territories, refused to yield, and in fact set the royal power at defiance. The course of events, however, soon enabled David to bring this refractory subject to terms. Edward, finding that France required his undivided attention, was not in a condition to prosecute his ambitious projects against Scotland; a peace was accordingly concluded between the rival countries; and David thus found himself at liberty to turn his whole force against the Isles. With this view, he commanded the attendance of the steward and other barons of the realm, and resolved to proceed in person against the rebels. But the steward, perceiving that the continuance of the rebellion might prove fatal to his party, pre-

vailed with his son-in-law to meet the king at Inverness, where an agreement was entered into, by which the Lord of Isles not only engaged to submit to the royal authority, and pay his share of all public burdens, but further promised to put down all others who should attempt to resist either; and, besides his own oath, he gave hostages to the king for the fulfilment of this obligation. The accession of Robert Steward or Stewart to the throne of Scotland, which took place shortly after this act of submission, brought the Lord of the Isles into close connection with the court; and during the whole of this reign, he remained in as perfect tranquillity, and gave as loyal support to the government as his father Angus had done under that of King Robert Bruce. In those barbarous and unsettled times, the government was not always in a condition to reduce its refractory vassals by force; and, from the frequent changes and revolutions to which it was exposed, joined to its general weakness, the penalty of forfeiture was but little dreaded. Its true policy, therefore, was to endeavour to bind to its interests, by the ties of friendship and alliance, those turbulent chiefs whom it was always difficult and often impossible to reduce to obedience by the means commonly employed for that purpose.

The advice which King Robert Bruce had left for the guidance of his successors, in regard to the Lords of the Isles, was certainly dictated by sound political wisdom. He foresaw the danger which would result to the Crown were the extensive territories and consequent influence of these insular chiefs ever again to be concentrated in the person of one individual; and he earnestly recommended to those who should come after him, never, under any circumstances, to permit or to sanction such aggrandizement. But, in the present instance, the claims of John were too great to be overlooked; and

though Robert Stewart could scarcely have been insensible of the eventual danger which might result from disregarding the admonition of Bruce, yet he had not been more than a year on the throne when he granted to his son-in-law a feudal title to all those lands which had formerly belonged to Ranald the son of Roderick, and thus conferred on him a boon which had often been demanded in vain by his predecessors. King Robert, however, since he could not with propriety obstruct the accumulation of so much property in one house, attempted to sow the seeds of future discord by bringing about a division of the property amongst the different branches of the family. With this view he persuaded John, who had been twice married, not only to gavel the lands amongst his offspring, which was the usual practice of his family, but also to render the children of both marriages feudally independent of one another. Accordingly, King Robert, in the third year of his reign, confirmed a charter granted by John to Reginald, the second son of the first marriage, by which the lands of Garmoran, forming the dowry of Reginald's mother, were to be held of John's heirs; that is, of the descendants of the eldest son of the first marriage, who would of course succeed to all his possessions that had not been feudally destined or devised to other parties. Nor was this all. A short time afterwards John resigned into the king's hands nearly the whole of the western portion of his territories, and received from Robert charters of these lands in favour of himself and the issue of his marriage with the king's daughter; so that the children of the second marriage were rendered feudally independent of those of the first, and the seeds of future discord and contention effectually sown between them. After this period little is known of the history of John, who is supposed to have died about the year 1386.

During the remainder of this king's reign, and the greater part of that of his successor, Robert III, no collision seems to have taken place between the insular chiefs and the general government; the peace of the country was not disturbed by any act of hostility on the part of the former, and hence little or nothing is known of their proceedings. But when the dissensions of the Scottish barons, occasioned by the marriage of the Duke of Rothesay, and the subsequent departure of the Earl of March to the English court, led to a renewal of the wars between the two countries, and the invasion of Scotland by an English army, the insular chiefs appear to have renewed their intercourse with England, being more swayed by considerations of interest or policy than by the ties of relationship to the royal family of Scotland. At this time, the clan was divided into two branches, the heads of which seemed to have possessed coordinate rank and authority. Godfrey, the eldest surviving son of the first marriage, ruled on the mainland, as lord of Garmoran and Lochaber; Donald, the eldest son of the second marriage, held a considerable territory of the Crown, then known as the feudal lordship of the Isles; whilst the younger brothers, having received the provisions usually allotted by the law of gavel, held these as vassals either of Godfrey or of Donald. This temporary equipoise was, however, soon disturbed by the marriage of Donald with Mary, the sister of Alexander, Earl of Ross, in consequence of which alliance he ultimately succeeded in obtaining possession of the earldom. The manner in which he effected this object is highly characteristic of those times. Alexander, Earl of Ross, had an only child, Euphemia, by a daughter of the Duke of Albany, whom he had married. But, on the death of her father, this lady entered a convent and became a nun, having previously committed

the charge of the earldom to her grandfather, Albany. Donald, however, lost no time in preferring his claim to the succession in right of his wife. He contended that Euphemia, by taking the veil, had become dead in law; that, consequently, she could neither claim the earldom in her own person, nor convey or communicate any right thereto to another; and that, in these circumstances, it belonged to him in right of his wife, the sister of the last earl. Albany was, in no degree, moved by this reasoning, and the demand of Donald, who insisted on being put in immediate possession of the earldom, he met by a positive refusal. The *ultima ratio* of kings and chiefs was now appealed to. Determined to assert his claim by force of arms, Donald raised a considerable force, with which he invaded Ross, and meeting little or no resistance from the people, soon made himself master of the district. On reaching Dingwall, however, he was encountered by Angus Dhu Mackay, at the head of a considerable body of men from Sutherland; but, after a fierce conflict, the Mackays were completely defeated, and their leader made prisoner. This victory not only put Donald in possession of the earldom, but inspired him with the conviction that more important conquests might be effected. Leaving the district of Ross, which now acknowledged his authority, he advanced at the head of his army, through Moray, and penetrated into Aberdeenshire. Here, however, a decisive check awaited him. On the 24th of July, 1411, he was met at the village of Harlaw by the Earl of Mar, at the head of an army inferior in numbers, but composed of better materials; and a battle ensued, upon the event of which seemed to depend the decision of the question, whether the Celtic or the Sassenach part of the population of Scotland were in future to possess the supremacy. The immediate issue of the

conflict was doubtful, and, as is usual in such cases, both parties claimed the victory. But the superior numbers and irregular valour of the Highland followers of Donald had received a severe check from the steady discipline and more effective arms of the Lowland gentry; they had been too roughly handled to think of renewing the combat, for which their opponents seem to have been quite prepared; and as, in such circumstances, a drawn battle was equivalent to a defeat, Donald was compelled, as the Americans say, "to advance backwards." The Duke of Albany, having obtained reinforcements, marched in person to Dingwall; but Donald, having no desire to try again the fate of arms, retired with his followers to the Isles, leaving Albany in possession of the whole of Ross, where he remained during the winter. Next summer, the war was renewed, and carried on with various success, until at length the insular chief found it necessary to come to terms with the duke, and a treaty was concluded at a small place in Argyleshire, by which Donald agreed to abandon his claim to the earldom of Ross, and to become a vassal of the Crown of Scotland.

The vigour of Albany restored peace to the kingdom, and the remainder of his regency was not disturbed by any hostile attempt upon the part of Donald of the Isles. But when the revenge of James I had consummated the ruin of the family of Albany, Alexander, the son of Donald, succeeded, without any opposition, to the earldom of Ross, and thus realized one grand object of his father's ambition. At almost any other period, the acquisition of such extensive territories would have given a decided and dangerous preponderance to the family of the Isles. The government of Scotland, however, was then in the hands of a man who, by his ability, energy, and courage, proved himself fully competent

to control his turbulent nobles, and, if necessary, to destroy their power and influence. Equally daring and artful, James I, from the very commencement of his reign, turned his attention towards the important object of strengthening the power of the Crown, the indispensable condition of which was to abridge that of the feudal nobility, by whom it was continually defied. Distrustful, however, of his ability to reduce the northern barons to obedience by force of arms, he had recourse to stratagem; and having summoned them to attend a parliament at Inverness, whither he proceeded attended by his principal nobility, and a considerable body of troops, he there caused them to be arrested to the number of forty, as soon as they made their appearance. Alexander, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, his mother, the Countess of Ross, and Alexander MacGodfrey of Garmoran, were amongst the number of those arrested on this occasion. Along with several others, MacGodfrey was immediately executed, and his whole possessions forfeited to the Crown; and the remainder were detained in captivity. By this bold stroke, in which treachery and vigour were equally conspicuous, James conceived that he had effectually subdued the Highland chiefs; and, under this impression, he soon afterward liberated Alexander of the Isles. But he seems to have forgotten that "vows made in pain," or at least in durance, "are violent and void." The submission of the captive was merely feigned. As soon as he had recovered his liberty, the Lord of the Isles flew to arms, and having assembled a body of ten thousand men, marched against Inverness, which he razed to the ground, in revenge of the injurious treatment he had there experienced. James, however, far from being dismayed by this sudden explosion of vengeance, collected a considerable force, and having rapidly pene-

trated into Lochaber, overtook the Highland army before they were able to make good their retreat to the Isles. Surprised by this bold march, which, considered in a military point of view, displays great ability, the Lord of the Isles soon found himself deserted by the Clans Chattan and Cameron, who went over in a body to the king. His situation was now desperate; yet he did not shrink from the encounter. A battle took place which ended in the total discomfiture and dispersion of the Highland army; and so vigorously did the king follow up his victory that the insular chief, finding concealment or escape equally impossible, was compelled to throw himself upon the royal clemency. He was carried to Edinburgh, and, on the occasion of a festival celebrated in the chapel of Holywood, the unfortunate chief, whose ancestors had treated with the Crown on the footing of independent princes, was compelled to appear before the assembled court divested of all his upper garments, and to implore on his knees, with a naked sword in his hands, the forgiveness of his offended monarch. Satisfied with this extraordinary, but we must add, impolitic act of compulsory humiliation, James granted the suppliant his life, and directed him to be forthwith imprisoned in Tantallan castle.

The spirit of clanship could not brook such a mortal affront, unparalleled in the annals of Scotland. The cry for vengeance was raised; the strength of the clan was mustered; and Alexander had scarcely been two years in captivity when the Isles once more broke out into open insurrection. Under the command of Donald Balloch, the cousin of Alexander and chief of Clan Ranald, the Islanders burst into Lochaber, where, having encountered an army which had been stationed in that country for the purpose of overawing the Highlanders, they gained a complete victory. The king's troops

were commanded by the Earls of Mar and Caithness, the latter of whom fell in the action, whilst the former saved with difficulty the remains of the discomfited force. Donald Balloch, however, did not follow up his victory, but having ravaged the adjacent districts, withdrew first to the Isles, and afterward to Ireland. In this emergency, James displayed his usual energy and activity. To repair the reverse sustained by his lieutenants, he proceeded in person to the North; his expedition was attended with complete success; and he soon received the submission of all the chiefs who had been engaged in the rebellion. Not long afterward he was presented with the head of Donald Balloch, who had been betrayed into the hands of his enemies, and almost deserved his fate for neglecting to profit by the victory which he had gained over Mar and Caithness. The king, being thus successful, listened to the voice of clemency. He restored to liberty the prisoner of Tantallan, granted him a free pardon for his various acts of rebellion, confirmed to him all his titles and possessions, and further conferred upon him the lordship of Lochaber, which, on its forfeiture, had been given to the Earl of Mar. The wisdom of this proceeding soon became apparent. Alexander could scarcely forget the humiliation he had undergone, and the imprisonment he had endured; and, in point of fact, he appears to have joined the Earls of Crawford and Douglas, who at that time headed the opposition to the court; but during the remainder of his life, the peace of the country was not again disturbed by any rebellious proceedings on his part, and thus far the king reaped the reward of his clemency.

The opposition of Crawford, Douglas, and their associates, had hitherto been chronic; but, on the death of Alexander, it broke out into active insurrection; and the new Lord of the Isles, as determined an opponent

of the royal party as his father had been, seized the royal castles of Inverness, Urquhart, and Ruthven in Badenoch, at the same time declaring himself independent. In thus raising the standard of rebellion, John of the Isles was secretly supported by the Earl of Douglas, and openly by the barons, who were attached to his party. But a series of fatalities soon extinguished this insurrection. Douglas was murdered in Edinburgh castle; Crawford was entirely defeated by Huntly; and John, by the rebellion of his son Angus, was doomed to experience, in his own territories, the same opposition which he had himself offered to the general government. Submission was, therefore, inevitable. Having, for several years, maintained a species of independence, he was compelled to resign his lands into the hands of the king, and to consent to hold them as a vassal of the Crown. This, however, was but a trifling matter compared with the rebellion of his son, which, fomented probably by the court, proved eventually the ruin of the principality of the Isles, after it had existed so long in a state of partial independence. Various circumstances are stated as having given rise to this extraordinary contest, although in none of these, probably, is the true cause to be found. It appears, however, that Angus Og, having been appointed his father's lieutenant and representative in all his possessions, took advantage of the station or office which was thus conferred on him, deprived his father of all authority, and got himself declared Lord of the Isles. How this was effected we know not; but scarcely had he attained the object of his unnatural ambition, when he resolved to take signal vengeance upon the Earl of Athole, an inveterate enemy of his house, and, at the same time, to declare himself altogether independent of the Crown. With this view, having collected a numerous army, he suddenly appeared

before the castle of Inverness, and having been admitted by the governor, who had no suspicion whatever of his design, immediately proclaimed himself King of the Isles. He then invaded the district of Athole; stormed and took Blair castle; and having seized the earl and countess, carried them prisoners to Islay. But this outrage, though committed with impunity from man, was avenged by the elements. On his return to the Isles with the booty he had obtained, the marauder was overtaken by a violent tempest, in which the greater part of his galleys foundered. Heaven seemed to declare against the spoiler, who had added sacrilege to rapine by plundering and attempting to burn the chapel of St. Bridget in Athole. Stricken with remorse for the crime he had committed, he released the earl and countess, and then sought to expiate his guilt by doing penance on the spot where it had been incurred.

As a proof of the sincerity of his repentance, this Angus Og next engaged in treason upon a larger scale. At the instigation of this hopeful son, his father, whom he had already deprived of all authority, now entered into a compact with the King of England and the Earl of Douglas, the object of which was nothing less than the entire subjugation of Scotland, and its partition amongst the contracting parties. By this treaty, which is dated the 13th of February, 1462, the Lord of the Isles agreed, on the payment of a stipulated sum, to become the sworn ally of the King of England, and to assist that monarch, with the whole body of his retainers, in the wars in Ireland and elsewhere; and it was further provided, that in the event of the entire subjugation of Scotland, the whole of that kingdom, to the north of the Frith of Forth, should be equally divided between Douglas, the Lord of the Isles, and Donald Balloch of Islay; whilst, on the other hand, Douglas was to be rein-

stated in possession of those lands between the Forth and the English borders, from which he had at this time been excluded. Conquest, partition, and spoliation were thus the objects contemplated in this extraordinary compact. Yet no proceeding appears to have been taken, in consequence of the treaty, until the year 1473, when we find the Lord of the Isles again in arms against the government. He continued several years in open rebellion; but having received little or no support from the other parties to the league, he was declared a traitor in a Parliament held at Edinburgh in 1475; his estates were also confiscated, and the Earls of Crawford and Athole were directed to march against him at the head of a considerable force. The meditated blow was, however, averted by the timely interposition of the Earl of Ross. Convinced that the proceedings of his turbulent and rebellious son would entail destruction on his house, he resolved to make an effort to regain his authority, and preserve the possessions of his ancestors. With a view to this, it was of primary importance to obtain, if possible, the assistance of the government, — an object of no easy attainment in the false position into which he had been thrown by the rebellion of his son, and the forfeiture which it had entailed. However, by a seasonable grant of the lands of Knapdale, he secured the influence of the Earl of Argyll, and through the mediation of that nobleman, received a remission of his past offences, was reinstated in his hereditary possessions, which he had resigned into the hands of the Crown, and created a peer of Parliament, by the title of the Lord of the Isles. The earldom of Ross, the lands of Knapdale, and the sheriffships of Inverness and Nairne were, however, retained by the Crown, apparently as the price of the remission granted to this doubly unfortunate man.

But Angus Og was no party to this arrangement. He

continued to defy the power of the government; and when the Earl of Athole was sent to the north to reinstate the Earl of Ross in his remaining possessions, he placed himself at the head of the clan, and prepared to give him battle. Athole was joined by the Mackenzies, Mackays, Frasers, and others; but being met by Angus at a place called Lagebread, he was defeated with great slaughter, and escaped with difficulty from the field. The Earls of Crawford and Huntly were then sent against this desperate rebel, the one by sea, and the other by land; but neither of them prevailed against the victorious insurgent. A third expedition, under the Earls of Argyll and Athole, promised better results. It was accompanied by the father of the rebel, and several families of the Isles were induced by his persuasions, backed by those of Argyll, to join the royal force. An attempt was now made to bring about an accommodation between the contending parties; but an interview, which took place at the suggestion of Argyll and Athole, terminated without producing any result; and the two earls, who seem to have had little taste for an encounter with Angus, returned without effecting anything. John the father, however, undismayed by their pusillanimity, proceeded onwards through the Sound of Mull, accompanied by the Macleans, Macleods, Macneills, and others, and having encountered Angus in a bay on the south side of the promontory of Ardnamurchan, a desperate combat ensued, in which Angus was again victorious, and his unfortunate parent overthrown. By the Battle of the Bloody Bay, as it is called in the traditions of the country, Angus obtained possession of the extensive territories of his clan, and as "when treason prospers, 'tis no longer treason," was recognized as its head. John was afterward reconciled to his son, who, however, does not appear to have, in consequence, made any sur-

Gordon, Earl of Aberdeen.

Ogilvy, Earl of Airly.

Fraser, Lord Salton.

Campbell, Marq.s of Breadalbane.

Duke of Gordon.

Mackenzie.

render of his power or influence. In little more than five years after this nominal submission to paternal authority, he once more threw off his allegiance to the throne; engaged in a treaty with Edward IV, who was then preparing to invade Scotland; and during the remainder of the reign of James III, continued in a state of open resistance to the government. But the accession of James IV produced a material change in the relative situations of all parties. That able monarch, who inherited the talents and energy of the first James, took decided measures to reduce the refractory chiefs, and reëstablish public tranquillity. Angus Og died suddenly; John was in no condition to defend himself, even had he wished to persevere in the rebellion in which his son had involved him; and thus, by the force of circumstances alone, the royal authority prevailed. James directed his particular attention to the Highlands and Isles, which he thrice visited in person in the course of one year (the sixth of his reign), and having penetrated as far as Dunstaffnage and Mingarry, reduced most of the chiefs to obedience. The Lord of the Isles still refused to submit, and the king was not then in a condition to attack him in his strongholds with any prospect of success; but on his return to Edinburgh he assembled a Parliament, in which the title and possessions of the Lord of the Isles were declared to be forfeited to the Crown. Even at the period to which we refer, this was considered as a formidable proceeding; but, in the present case, circumstances rendered it peculiarly fatal to the family of the Isles. Angus was dead; his father soon afterward followed him to the grave; Donald Dhu, his grandson, was still a minor; the other branches of the family were engaged in mutual feuds and dissensions; and there was no one amongst them powerful enough to assume the government of the clan, and offer

effectual resistance to the royal authority. The consequence was, that by the death and forfeiture of John the clan were completely disorganized. There was no longer any bond of union amongst them, or any common head capable of rallying all their energies in a general cause; and the smaller families, which had been long dependent on the Lords of the Isles, though not connected with them by descent, now, with one accord, seized the opportunity of declaring themselves independent, and of procuring from the king feudal titles to their respective lands. The Macdonalds had already passed the culminating point of their fortunes; they had no longer any prospect of recovering the royal state which they had so long maintained; and from this period, accordingly, may be dated the decline and fall of that once great and powerful clan.

But although fortune had declared against them, they did not finally resign the contest without a struggle to preserve their ascendency. Three different attempts were made by them to place some branch of the family at the head of the tribe; but all these proved unsuccessful, partly owing to the prompt measures adopted by the government, but still more on account of their own dissensions, and the opposition they experienced from those clans which, though formerly dependent upon them, now found it, for their interest, to prevent the union of the tribe under one common chief or head. The first of these attempts was made, shortly after the death of John, in favour of Donald Dhu, who was the son of Angus Og; and the principal parties engaged in it were Alister Macdonald of Lochalsh, Torquil Macleod of Lewis, and Lachlan Maclane of Doward. Macdonald, who headed the enterprise, proceeded to Ross, accompanied by the greater part of the clan; in the hope that, by a sudden stroke, he might recover possession of that

earldom. But the expedition was rendered abortive by the promptitude and vigilance of Mackenzie, who, having attacked the Macdonalds by night, slew a great number of them, and dispersed the remainder. Macdonald returned to the Isles, where he proceeded to raise more men, in the hope of repairing this disaster; but MacIan of Ardnamurchan, Macconnell of Kintyre, and some others who were opposed to the succession of Donald Dhu, and unwilling to be implicated in the rebellion raised on his account, followed Macdonald to Oransay, and there put him to death. Nor did Maclane, and the chiefs who still adhered to him, prove more fortunate. Having made an irruption into Badenoch with a considerable force, they laid waste the country in all directions; set fire to the town of Inverness; and eluded the army which was sent against them, by immediately retiring to the Isles with the plunder which they had acquired. Their discomfiture and ruin were, however, only deferred. A fleet was sent against them, under the command of the celebrated Sir Andrew Wood; the insurgents were defeated; Kerneburg castle, in which they had taken refuge, was reduced; the Maclanes and the Macleods submitted to the government; and Donald Dhu, having been made prisoner, was sent to the castle of Inchconnell, where he lingered in confinement during the long period of forty years.

An honourable trait in the character of the Highlanders is the devotion with which they have always supported a sinking cause. Misfortunes had thickened around the house of the Isles, and the person whom they regarded as the legitimate heir was now in hopeless captivity; yet, undeterred by adversity, which usually frightens away fair-weather friends and adherents, they made an attempt to place his nearest relation in possession of his insular dominions. Encouraged by

their promises of support, Donald Galda, the son of Alister, who had been the principal mover in the former rebellion, raised another insurrection in order to assert his claim to the lordship of the Isles. He was immediately joined by the powerful clan of the Macleods; he also effected a reconciliation with the Macconnells of Kintyre; and with the aid of these allies he succeeded in obtaining possession of the Isles. But he did not long enjoy his success. In a short time after he had been declared Lord of the Isles, Donald Galda died; and the confederacy formed in his favour was in consequence dissolved. During his short career, however, he revenged the murder of his father on the MacIans of Ardnamurchan, by causing their chief, along with his son, to be seized and put to death.

But the ill success of these attempts, however discouraging, did not induce the Macdonalds to abandon all hope of yet placing at their head a chief of their own race. They had suffered much in the various struggles in which they had been engaged; indeed, their power as a clan was for the time so greatly depressed that, during the remainder of the reign of James V, they were in no condition to renew the enterprise, although they had never ceased to entertain the idea of doing so. But under the regency of Mary of Guise, a favourable opportunity of accomplishing their object, seemed at length to present itself. Having turned their thoughts towards Donald Dhu, the son of Angus Og, whom they had formerly attempted, without success, to set up as the successor of the last Lord of the Isles, they now resolved to make a final effort to reinstate him in his inheritance, and to invest him with the honours and dignities of his house. After the successful attack of Kerneburg castle by Sir Andrew Wood, Donald Dhu, then a minor, had, as we have already seen, been made

prisoner, and sent to Inchconnell, where he had, ever since, been detained in captivity. But a sudden and unexpected attack, made by the Macdonalds of Glenco, effected his liberation from the place where he had been confined; and Donald had no sooner arrived in his paternal domains, than he was declared Lord of the Isles, and received the submission of the heads of the different branches of the Macdonalds, as well as that of other insular chiefs. At first he was supported by the Earl of Lennox, then attached to the English interest, and thus remained for a time in undisputed possession of the Isles. But that nobleman having soon afterward made his peace with the government, and disbanded his followers, Donald Dhu was obliged to proceed to Ireland in quest of assistance, hoping to raise a force in that country sufficient to maintain him in possession of the Isles. His sudden death, however, put an end to the enterprise. Being attacked with fever, immediately after landing in Ireland, he died at Drogheda, on his way to Dublin, and with him terminated the direct line of the Earls of Ross and Lords of the Isles. All hopes of a descendant of Somerled again governing the Isles were now at an end; and from this period the Macdonalds, unable to regain their former power and consequence, were divided into various branches, the aggregate strength of which was rendered unavailing for the purpose of general aggrandizement by the jealousy, disunion, and rivalry, which unfortunately prevailed amongst themselves.

After the forfeiture of the Lords of the Isles, and the failure of the successive attempts which were made to retrieve their fortunes, different clans occupied the extensive territories which had once acknowledged the sway of those insular princes. Of these some were clans, which, although dependent upon the Macdonalds,

were not of the same origin as the race of Conn; and, with the exception of the Macleods, Macleans, and a few others, they strenuously opposed all the attempts which were made to effect the restoration of the family of the Isles, rightly calculating that the success of such opposition would tend to promote their own aggrandizement. Another class, again, were of the same origin as the family of the Isles; but having branched off from the principal stem, before the succession of the elder branches reverted to the clan, in the person of John of the Isles, during the reign of David II, they now appeared as separate clans. Amongst these were the Macalisters, the MacIans, and some others. The Macalisters, who are traced to Alister, a son of Angus Mor, inhabited the south of Knapdale and the north of Kintyre. After the forfeiture of the Isles they became independent; but being exposed to the encroachments of the Campbells, their principal possessions were, ere long, absorbed by different branches of that powerful clan. The MacIans of Ardnamurchan were descended from John, a son of Angus Mor, to whom his father conveyed the property which he had obtained from the Crown. The Macdonalds of Glenco are also MacIans, being descended from John Fraoch, a son of Angus Og, Lord of the Isles; and hence their history is in no degree different from that of the other branches of the Macdonalds. Their name, however, has obtained a painful celebrity in the annals of their country, from the cold-blooded massacre to which this unfortunate clan were subjected in the reign of William III, — an atrocity which fixes a deep and indelible stain on the memory of the king by whom it was sanctioned, and on that of the nobleman at whose instigation it was perpetrated, and which amply justified the hatred and opposition of the Highlanders towards the government established by the Revolution,

and continued by the Act of Settlement. A third class consisted of the descendants of the different Lords of the Isles, who still professed to form one clan, although the subject of the representation of the race soon introduced great dissensions, and all adopted the generic name of Macdonald in preference to secondary or collateral patronymics.

The first division which occurred in this class took place amongst the descendants of John, Lord of the Isles, in the fourteenth century. John had been twice married, and he had had sons by both marriages. The descendants of the first marriage were limited to the Clan Ranald, whilst those of the second consisted of the Macdonalds of Sleat, Islay, and Keppoch; and as the circumstances which had given the latter a certain degree of preëminence were now changed, the former loudly asserted their pretensions to be considered as the patriarchal chiefs of the Clan Donald. The Macdonalds of Sleat, Islay, and Keppoch remained, in every respect, independent of one another; although the representation had devolved on the first of these branches as the descendants of Hugh, brother of John, the last Lord of the Isles. The Macdonalds of Islay and Kintyre, after maintaining themselves for some time in a state of independence, at length sunk gradually under the usurping ascendency of the Campbells, and were finally extinguished soon after the accession of Charles I. The Campbells, having procured letters of fire and sword against the whole race of Ian Vohr, and, at the same time, obtained the assistance of the Macleods, Macleans, Macneils, Camerons, and others, compelled Sir James Macdonald, the last representative of that house, to fly to Spain; and the prime obstacle being thus removed, the Earl of Argyll obtained a grant of his lands, which was the real object of this atrocious combination. The

most valuable portion of the property of the ducal house of Argyll consists of the lands of which the Macdonalds of Islay and Kintyre were thus violently despoiled. The Macdonalds of Keppoch remained long in possession of the district of Lochaber, in spite of every effort to dislodge and expel them. But they were engaged in continual feuds with their neighbours; and having been the last of the Highlanders to abandon that predatory system of warfare, in which, at one time, all of them were equally engaged, they may be said to have preserved the ancient character of their country until they ceased to exist as a separate clan. As to the Macdonalds of Sleat, they constitute the only branch which, in modern times, has increased in power and station; and as their chief has been ennobled by the title of Lord Macdonald, this circumstance has served to place him apparently at the head of the race, although his claim to such a distinction has been keenly and even violently disputed.

The pretensions of the different claimants to the honour of chief of the whole Clan Donald have been very fairly stated by Mr. Skene. That the family of Sleat are the undoubted representatives of the last Lord of the Isles, appears to be admitted on all sides; but, on the other hand, if the descendants of Donald, from whom the clan received its name, or even of John of the Isles, who flourished in the reign of David II, are to be held as constituting one clan, then, according to the Highland principles of clanship, the *jus sanguinis*, or right of blood to the chiefship, rested in the male representative of John, whose own right was undoubted. By Amy, daughter of Roderick of the Isles, John had three sons, — John, Godfrey, and Ranald; but the last of these only left descendants; and it is from him that the Clan Ranald derive their origin. Again, by the

daughter of Robert II John had four sons: Donald, Lord of the Isles, the ancestor of the Macdonalds of Sleat; John Mor, from whom proceeded the Macconnells of Kintyre; Alister, the progenitor of Keppoch; and Angus, who does not appear to have left any descendants. That Amy, the daughter of Roderick, was John's legitimate wife, is proved, first, by a dispensation which the Supreme Pontiff granted to John in the year 1337; and secondly, by a treaty concluded between John and David II in 1369, when the hostages given to the king were a son of the second marriage, a grandson of the first, and a *natural* son. Besides, it is certain that the children of the first marriage were considered as John's feudal heirs; a circumstance which clearly establishes their legitimacy. It is true that Robert II, in pursuance of the policy he had adopted, persuaded John to make the children of these respective marriages feudally independent of each other; and that the effect of this was to divide the possessions of his powerful vassal into two distinct and independent lordships. These were, first, the lordship of Garmoran and Lochaber, which was held by the eldest son of the first marriage, — and secondly, that of the Isles, which passed to the eldest son of the second marriage; and matters appear to have remained in this state until 1427, when, as formerly mentioned, the Lord of Garmoran was beheaded, and his estates were forfeited to the Crown. James I, however, reversing the policy which had been pursued by his predecessor, concentrated the possessions of the Macdonalds in the person of the Lord of the Isles, and thus sought to restore to him all the power and consequence which had originally belonged to his house; "but this arbitrary proceeding," says Mr. Skene, "could not deprive the descendants of the first marriage of the feudal repre-

sentation of the chiefs of the Clan Donald, which now, on the failure of the issue of Godfrey in the person of his son Alexander, devolved on the feudal representative of Reginald, the youngest son of that marriage."

The Clan Ranald are believed to have derived their origin from this Reginald or Ranald, who was a son of John of the Isles by Amy MacRory, and obtained from his father the lordship of Garmoran, which he held as vassal of his brother Godfrey. That this lordship continued in possession of the clan appears evident from the Parliamentary Records, in which, under the date of 1587, mention is made of the Clan Ranald of Knoydart, Moydart, and Glengarry. But considerable doubt has arisen, and there has been a good deal of controversy, as to the right of chiefship; whilst of the various families descended from Ranald each has put forward its claim to this distinction. On this knotty and ticklish point we shall content ourselves with stating the conclusions at which Mr. Skene arrived, "after," as he informs us, "a rigid examination" of the whole subject in dispute. According to him, the present family of Clan Ranald have no valid title or pretension whatever, being descended from an illegitimate son of a second son of the old family of Moydart, who, in 1531, assumed the title of captain of Clan Ranald; and, consequently, as long as the descendants of the eldest son of that family remain, they can have no claim by right of blood to the chiefship. He then proceeds to examine the question, — Who was the chief previous to this assumption of the captaincy of Clan Ranald? and, from a genealogical induction of particulars, he concludes that Donald, the progenitor of the family of Glengarry, was the eldest son of the Reginald or Ranald abovementioned; that from John, the eldest son of Donald, proceeded the senior branch of this family, in which

the chiefship was vested; that, in consequence of the grant of Garmoran to the Lord of the Isles, and other adverse circumstances, they became so much reduced, that the oldest cadet obtained the actual chiefship, under the ordinary title of captain; and that, on the extinction of this branch in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the family of Glengarry descended from Alister, second son of Donald, became the legal representatives of Ranald, the common ancestor of the clan, and consequently possessed that *jus sanguinis* of which no usurpation could deprive them. Such are the results of Mr. Skene's researches upon this subject. Latterly, the family of Glengarry have claimed not only the chiefship of Clan Ranald, but likewise that of the whole Clan Donald, as being the representative of Donald, the common ancestor of the clan; and it can scarcely be denied that the same evidence which makes good the one point must serve equally to establish the other. Nor does this appear to be any new pretension. When the services rendered by this family to the house of Stuart were rewarded by Charles II with a peerage the Glengarry of the time indicated his claim by assuming the title of Lord Macdonnell and Arross; and although upon the failure of heirs male of his body, this title did not descend to his successors, yet his lands formed, in consequence, the barony of Macdonnell.

The force of this clan has at all times been considerable. In 1427, the Macdonnells of Garmoran and Lochaber mustered 2,000 men; in 1715, the whole clan furnished 2,820; and in 1745, 2,330. In a memorial drawn up by President Forbes of Culloden, and transmitted to the government soon after the insurrection of 1745, the force of every clan is detailed, according to the best information which the author of the report could procure at the time. This enumeration, which pro-

ceeds upon the supposition that the chieftain calculated on the military services of the youthful, the most hardy, and the bravest of his followers, omitting those who, from advanced age, tender years, or natural debility, were unable to carry arms, gives the following statement of the respective forces of the different branches of the Macdonalds: —

Macdonald of Sleat	700	men.
Macdonald of Clan Ranald	700	
Macdonell of Glengarry	500	
Macdonell of Keppoch	300	
Macdonald of Glenco	130	
In all	2,330	men.

Next to the Campbells, therefore, who could muster about five thousand men, the Macdonalds were by far the most numerous and powerful clan in the Highlands of Scotland.

CHAPTER V

THE MACDUGALLS AND OTHERS

HAVING thus completed our account of the main stem or trunk, we shall now proceed to notice some of the principal branches that sprung from it, beginning with the Clan Dugall.

I. The Macdugalls have generally been derived from Dugall, who was the eldest son of Somerled, the common ancestor of the Clan Donald; and it has hitherto been supposed that Alexander de Ergadia, the undoubted ancestor of the Clan Dugall, who first appears in the year 1284, was the son of Ewen de Ergadia, who figured so prominently at the period of the cession of the Isles. This opinion, however, Mr. Skene conceives to be erroneous; first, because Ewen would seem to have died without leaving male issue; and, secondly, because it is contradicted by the manuscript of 1450, which states that the Clan Dugall, as well as the Clan Rory, and the Clan Donald, sprung not from Ewen, but from Ranald, the son of Somerled, through his son Dugall, from whom indeed they derived their name.

The first appearance which this family makes in history is at the convention which was held in the year 1284. In the list of those who attended on that occasion, we find the name of Alexander de Ergadia, whose presence was probably the consequence of his holding his lands by a Crown charter; but from this period we lose sight of him entirely, until the reign of Robert Bruce, when the strenuous opposition offered by the Lord of Lorn and

by his son John to the succession of that king, restored his name to history, in connection with that of Bruce. Alister, having married the third daughter of the Red Comyn, whom Bruce slew in the Dominican church at Dumfries, became the mortal enemy of the king; and, upon more than one occasion, during the early part of his reign, succeeded in reducing him to the greatest straits.

Bruce, after his defeat at Methven, on the 19th of June, 1306, withdrew to the mountainous parts of Breadalbane, and approached the borders of Argyleshire. His followers did not exceed three hundred men, who, disheartened by defeat, and exhausted by privation, were not in a condition to encounter a superior force. In this situation, however, he was attacked by Macdugall of Lorn, at the head of a thousand men, part of whom were Macnabs, who had joined the party of John Baliol; and, after a severe conflict, he was compelled to abandon the field. In the retreat from Dalree, where the battle had been fought, the king was hotly pursued, and one of the followers of Macdugall having come up with him, seized hold of his cloak or plaid, which was fixed across his breast by a large brooch. The king turning hastily round, killed the man with his battle-axe; but in the hurry of the moment left the mantle and brooch, which were torn off by the dying grasp of Macdugall. This highly-prized trophy was long preserved as a remarkable relic in the family of MacDugall of Dunolly; until, according to General Stewart, it was destroyed when Dunolly castle, the family residence, was burned in the seventeenth century. Nor was this the only instance in which the king's life had been placed in jeopardy by the unrelenting hostility of the Macdugalls. On another occasion, when he had been obliged to conceal himself from the pursuit of his

enemies, he was tracked by John of Lorn and a party of his followers, who were led on by a bloodhound; and he only escaped falling into their hands by an incredible effort of courage and activity. In his day of adversity, they were the most persevering and dangerous of all King Robert's enemies.

But the time for retribution at length arrived. When Robert Bruce had firmly established himself on the throne of Scotland, one of the first objects to which he directed his attention, was to crush his old enemies the Macdugalls, and to revenge the many injuries he had suffered at their hands. With this view, he marched into Argyleshire, determined to lay waste the country, and take possession of Lorn. His adversaries, however, were not unprepared to meet him, and to dispute his progress. On advancing, he found John of Lorn and his followers posted in a formidable defile between Ben Cruachan and Loch Awe, which it seemed impossible to force, and almost hopeless to turn. But the military eye of the king soon discovered that the natural difficulties which this position presented might be overcome by a combined attack; and, accordingly, having sent a party to ascend the mountain, gain the heights, and threaten the enemy's rear, he immediately attacked them in front, with the utmost fury. For a time the Macdugalls sustained the onset bravely; but, at length, perceiving themselves in danger of being assailed in the rear, as well as the front, and thus completely isolated in the defile, they betook themselves to flight; and the difficulties of the pass, which had been of advantage to them in the first instance, now that they were broken and thrown in disorder, proved the cause of their ruin. Unable to escape from the mountain gorge, they were slaughtered without mercy, and, by this reverse, their power was completely broken. Bruce then laid waste

Argyleshire, besieged and took the castle of Dunstaffnage, and received the submission of Alister of Lorn, the father of John, who now fled to England. Alister was allowed to retain the district of Lorn; but the rest of his possessions were forfeited, and given to Angus of Islay, who had all along remained faithful to the king's interests.

When John of Lorn arrived as a fugitive in England, King Edward was making preparations for that expedition which terminated so gloriously for Scotland in the ever-memorable battle of Bannockburn. John was received with open arms, appointed to the command of the English fleet, and ordered to sail for Scotland, in order to coöperate with the land forces. But the total defeat and dispersion of the latter soon afterward confirmed Bruce in possession of the throne; and being relieved from the apprehension of any further aggression on the part of the English king, he resolved to lose no time in driving the Lord of Lorn from the Isles, where he had made his appearance with the fleet under his command. Accordingly, on his return from Ireland, whither he had accompanied his brother Edward, he directed his course towards the Isles, and having arrived at Tarbet, is said to have caused his galleys to be dragged over the isthmus which connects Kintyre and Knapdale. This bold proceeding was crowned with success. The English fleet was surprised and dispersed; and its commander, having been made prisoner, was sent to Dumbarton, and afterward to Lochleven, where he was detained in confinement during the remainder of King Robert's reign.

On the death of Bruce, however, John recovered his liberty, and by a politic alliance with the royal family, regained the possessions which had been forfeited in consequence of his connection with the Red Comyn. In the

early part of the reign of David II, he married a granddaughter of Robert Bruce, and through her not only recovered the ancient possessions of his family, but even obtained a grant of the property of Glenlyon. These extensive territories, however, were not destined to remain long in the family. Ewen, the last Lord of Lorn, died without male issue; and his two daughters having married, the one John Stewart of Innermeath, and the other his brother Robert Stewart, an arrangement was entered into between these parties, in virtue of which the descendants of John Stewart acquired the whole of the Lorn possessions, with the exception of the castle of Dunolly and its dependencies, which remained to the other branch of the family; and thus terminated the power of this branch of the descendants of Somerled. The chieftainship of the clan now descended to the family of Dunolly, which continued to enjoy the small portion which remained to them of their ancient possessions until the year 1715, when the representative of the family incurred the penalty of forfeiture for his accession to the insurrection of that period; thus, by a singular contrast of circumstances, "losing the remains of his inheritance to replace upon the throne the descendants of those princes, whose accession his ancestors had opposed at the expense of their feudal grandeur." The estate, however, was restored to the family in 1745, as a reward for their not having taken any part in the more formidable rebellion of that year. In President Forbes's report on the strength of the clans, the force of the Macdugalls is estimated at two hundred men.

II. Besides the Macdonalds and the Macdugalls, various other clans in Argyleshire appear to have sprung from the original stock of the Siol Cuinn. From the manuscript of 1450, we learn that, in the twelfth century, there lived a certain Gillebride, surnamed King of the

Isles, who derived his descent from a brother of Suibne, the ancestor of the Macdonalds, who was slain in the year 1034; and the same authority deduces from Anradan, or Henry, the son of this Gillebride, the Macneills, the Maclachlans, the Macewens, and the Maclairishs. The genealogy, by which this Gillebride is derived from an ancestor of the Macdonalds in the beginning of the eleventh century, is perhaps, of questionable authenticity; and so, indeed, are almost all others which have reference to a rude and barbarous age; but the traditionary affinity which is thus shown to have existed between these clans and the race of Somerled at so early a period, would seem to countenance the notion that they had all originally sprung from the same stock. The original seat of this race appears to have been in Lochaber. It has received the name of Siol Gillebride, or Gillevray, from the circumstance mentioned by an old sennachie of the Macdonalds, that, in the time of Somerled, the principal surnames in that country were MacInnes and MacGillevray, which is the same as MacInnes. The different branches of this tribe, therefore, probably formed but one clan, under the denomination of the Clan Gillevray. But on the conquest of Argyle by Alexander II, they were involved in the ruin which overtook all the adherents of Somerled; with the exception of the Macneills, who consented to hold their lands off the Crown, and the Maclachlans, who regained their former consequence by means of marriage with an heiress of the Lamonds. After the breaking up of the clan, the other branches appear to have followed, as their chief, Macdougall Campbell of Craignish, the head of a family, which is descended from the kindred race of MacInnes of Ardgour.

1. When the Macneills made their first appearance in history, about the beginning of the fifteenth century,

they were already a powerful clan in Knapdale. This district was not included in the sheriffdom of Argyle, and hence it is probable that their ancestor had consented to hold his lands of the Crown. In the beginning of the preceding century, it had been forfeited, and given by Robert Bruce to John de Menteth, although for what reason has not been ascertained. The next notice of the Macneills is contained in a charter granted by Alexander, Lord of the Isles; it is dated in 1427, and conveys to Gilleonan Roderic Murchard Macneill the island of Barra, and the lands of Boysdale in Uist, with the benefit of survivorship to his brothers, and remainder to the heirs-general of his father. But Barra was not at this time chief of the clan, an honour which seems to have belonged to Hector Mactorquil Macneill, heritable keeper of the castle of Swen. In 1478, the family of Gigha first made their appearance in the person of Malcolm Macneill; and, from this period, the clan remained divided into the two branches of Barra and Gigha, part of their possessions being completely separated, and situated at a considerable distance from the rest. How this came to pass, it is not easy to conjecture; but the circumstance has occasioned a dispute regarding the chiefship between the Macneills of Barra and the family Taynish or Gigha, each of whom lays claim to that distinction. It would seem, however, that as late as the middle of the sixteenth century, neither of these families was in possession of the chiefship. In the register of the Privy Council there appears, under the date of 1550, a letter addressed "to Torkill Macneill, chief and principal of the clan, and surname of Macnelis;" and as the Gigha of that period was named Neill Macnele, and the Barra Gilleonan Macnell, it is evident that the "Torkill," here mentioned, must have been a different person from

either of these, and was probably, as Mr. Skene conjectures, the hereditary keeper of Castle Swen, in which capacity we discover the first chief of the clan. But as the family of these hereditary keepers seems to have become extinct in the person of this Torkill, we cannot, after this period, trace any chief distinct from the families of Barra and Gigha, to the former of which tradition points as that wherein the right of chiefship now probably resides.

2. In the manuscript of 1450, the Maclachlans are traced to Gilchrist, a grandson of that Anradan, or Henry, from whom all the clans of this tribe are descended; and this is further confirmed by the circumstance that, where the manuscript mentions a Gillepadrig MacGilchrist as one of the chiefs of the clan, the cartulary of Paisley contains a charter of the same period, granted by "Laumanus filius Malcolmi," the ancestor of the Lamonts, and attested by "Gillpatrick filius Gilchristi." According to the tradition of the clan, the Maclachlans acquired their lands in Cowall by means of a marriage with an heiress of the Lamonds; and the manuscript which states that Gilchrist married the daughter of Lachlan MacRory, contemporary with Angus MacRory, Lord of Cowall, and chief of the Lamonds, apparently indicates the same fact. The original seat of the Maclachlans appears to have been in Lochaber, where an old branch of the family has long been settled under the name of Camerons. Soon after their acquisitions in Cowall, they became dependent upon the Campbells; but they still remained a clan of considerable strength, and during a long period experienced no material change of condition. In the year 1745 their strength was estimated at three hundred men.

3. Upon a rocky promontory situated on the coast of Lochfyne may still be discerned the vestige of a build-

ing, called in Gaelic Chaistel Mhic Eobhuin, or the castle of MacEwen. In Macfarlane's account of the parish of Kilfinnan, this MacEwen is described as the chief of a clan, and proprietor of the northern division of the parish called Otter; and in the manuscript of 1450, which contains the genealogy of the *Clan Boghan na Hoitreic*, or Clan Ewen of Otter, they are derived from Anradan, the common ancestor of the Maclachlans and the Macneills. This family soon became extinct, and their property gave title to a branch of the Campbells, by whom it appears to have been subsequently acquired, though in what manner we have no means of ascertaining.

III. Under the name of *Siol Eachern* are included the Macdougall Campbells of Craignish, and the Lamonds of Lamond, both very old clans in Argyleshire, and supposed to have been originally of the same race.

1. "The policy of the Argyll family," says Mr. Skene, "led them to employ every means for the acquisition of property, and the extension of the clan. One of the arts which they used for the latter purpose was to compel those clans which had become dependent upon them to adopt the name of Campbell; and this, when successful, was generally followed at an after period, by the assertions that that clan was descended from the house of Argyll. In general, the clans thus adopted into the race of Campbell, are sufficiently marked out by their being promoted only to the honour of being an illegitimate branch; but the tradition of the country invariably distinguishes between the real Campbells, and those who were compelled to adopt their name." There is nothing very wonderful in this, however; indeed such appears to have been more or less the policy of all the great families in the north, who seldom failed to embrace any opportunity that offered for increasing

the number of their vassals and dependents, who formed the chief element of their power. Of the policy in question, the Campbells of Craignish are said to have afforded a remarkable instance. According to the Argyle system, as here described, they are represented as the descendants of Dugall, an illegitimate son of a Campbell, who lived in the twelfth century. But the tradition of the country has assigned to them a different origin. The common belief amongst the people is, that their ancient name was MacEachern, and that they were of the same race with the Macdonalds; nor are there wanting circumstances which seem to give countenance to this tradition. Their arms are charged with the galley of the Isles, from the mast of which depends a shield exhibiting some of the distinctive bearings of the Campbells; and, what is even more to the purpose, the manuscript of 1450 contains a genealogy of the MacEacherns, in which they are derived from a certain Nicol MacMurdoch, who lived in the twelfth century. Besides, when the MacGillevrays and MacIans of Morvern and Ardgour were broken up and dispersed, many of their septs, although not resident on the property of the Craignish family, acknowledged its head as their chief. But as the MacGillevrays and the MacIans were two branches of the same clan, which had separated as early as the twelfth century; and as the MacEacherns appear to have been of the same race, Murdoch, the first of the clan, being contemporary with Murdoch the father of Gillebride, the ancestor of the Siol Gillevray, it may be concluded that the Siol Eachern and the MacIans were of the same clan; and this is further confirmed by the circumstance that there was an old family of MacEacherns which occupied Kingerlock, bordering on Ardgour, the ancient property of the MacIans. That branch of the Siol Eachern which settled at Craignish were

called Clan Dugall Craignish, and obtained, it is said, the property known by this name from the brother of Campbell of Lochowe, in the reign of David II. The lands of Colin Campbell of Lochowe, having been forfeited in that reign, his brother, Gillespie Campbell, appears to have obtained a grant of them from the Crown; and it is not improbable, that the Clan Dugall Craignish acquired from the latter their right to the property of Craignish. After the restoration of the Lochowe family, by the removal of the forfeiture, that of Craignish were obliged to hold their lands, not of the Crown, but of the house of Argyle. Nevertheless, they continued for some time a considerable family, maintaining a sort of independence, until at length, yielding to the influence of that policy which has already been described, they merged, like most of the neighbouring clans, in that powerful race by whom they were surrounded.

2. It is an old and accredited tradition in the Highlands, that the Lamonds were the most ancient proprietors of Cowall, and that the Stewarts, Maclachlans, and Campbells obtained possession of their property in that district by marriage with daughters of the family. At an early period a very small part only of Upper Cowall was included in the sheriffdom of Argyle, the remainder being comprehended in that of Perth. It may, therefore, be presumed that, on the conquest of Argyle by Alexander II the Lord of Lower Cowall had submitted to the king, and obtained a Crown charter. But, in little more than half a century after that event, we find the high steward in possession of Lower Cowall, and the Maclachlans in possession of Strathlachlan. It appears, indeed, that in 1242 Alexander, the High Steward of Scotland, married Jean, the daughter of James, son of Angus MacRory, who is styled Lord of Bute; and, from the manuscript of 1450, we learn that, about

the same period, Gilchrist Maclachlan married the daughter of Lachlan MacRory; from which it is probable that this Roderic or Rory was the third individual who obtained a Crown charter for Lower Cowall, and that by these intermarriages the property passed from his family into the hands of the Stewarts and the Maclachlans. The coincidence of these facts, with the tradition above-mentioned, would seem also to indicate that Angus MacRory was the ancestor of the Lamonds.

After the marriage of the steward with the heiress of Lamond, the next of that race of whom any mention is made is Duncan MacFerchar, and "Laumanus," son of Malcolm, and grandson of the same Duncan, who appear to have granted to the monks of Paisley a charter of the lands of Kilmore near Lochgilp, and also of the lands "which they and their predecessors held at Kilmun (*quas nos et antecessores nostri apud Kilmun habuerunt*)." In the same year, "Laumanus," the son of Malcolm, also granted a charter of the lands of Kilfinnan, which, in 1295, is confirmed by Malcolm, the son and heir of the late "Laumanus" (*domini quondam Laumani*). But in an instrument, or deed, dated in 1466, between the monastery of Paisley and John Lamond of Lamond, regarding the lands of Kilfinnan, it is expressly stated, that these lands had belonged to the ancestors of John Lamond; and hence, it is evident, that the "Laumanus," mentioned in the previous deed, must have been one of the number, if not indeed the chief and founder of the family. "From Laumanus," says Mr. Skene, "the clan appear to have taken the name of Maclaman or Lamond, having previously to his time borne the name of Macerachar, and Clan mhic Earachar."

The connection of this clan with that of Dugall Craignish is indicated by the same circumstances which point

out the connection of other branches of the tribe; for whilst the Craignish family preserved its power, it was followed by a great portion of the Clan mhic Earachar, although it possessed no feudal right to their services. "There is one peculiarity connected with the Lamonds," says Mr. Skene, "that although by no means a powerful clan, their genealogy can be proved by charters, at a time when most other Highland families are obliged to have recourse to tradition, and the genealogies of their ancient sennachies; but their antiquity could not protect the Lamonds from the encroachments of the Campbells, by whom they were soon reduced to as small a portion of their original possessions in Lower Cowall, as the other Argyleshire clans had been of theirs." The Lamonds were a clan of the same description as the Maclachlans, and, like the latter, they have, notwithstanding "the encroachments of the Campbells," still retained a portion of their ancient possessions. The chief of this family is Lamond of Lamond.

CHAPTER VI

DISTRICT OF ATHOLE

The district of Athole is one which possesses peculiar claims to attention. From a remote period, it has preserved its name and its boundaries unchanged. The former, indeed, occurs in the history of Scotland long before mention is made of any other territorial division; and it has always been inhabited by a people distinguished alike for their bravery and their love of independence. But to some its principal interest arises from the circumstance that the family, which, between the eleventh and fourteenth century, gave a long line of kings to Scotland, belonged to this district, where they had been established for a considerable period before they were raised to the throne of their native country by the marriage of their ancestor with the daughter of Malcolm II. Their elevation was the consequence of an event well known in Scottish history. When Thorfinn, the Norwegian Earl of Orkney, conquered the north of Scotland, the only portion of the ancient Caledonian territory which remained independent of his power was the district of Athole, and part of that of Argyle. The Lord of the Isles had been slain in an unsuccessful attempt to preserve his insular dominions, and the King of the Scots, with the flower of his nobility, had also fallen in that short but bloody campaign. But somehow Athole escaped the grasp of the victorious Norwegian; and to this circumstance, apparently, it was owing that the ancestor of the family which anciently

possessed that district was raised to the throne. Of the nobility, indeed, there does not appear to have been any one left of sufficient power and influence to resist the progress of the Norwegians, or to seize upon the vacant throne. The overthrow of the Scots had been complete. Thorfinn, like a destroying angel, had annihilated all before him. In this disastrous condition, the Scots had recourse to Duncan, the son of Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld, by the daughter of Malcolm II, their last king; but, after a reign of six years, Duncan was slain in an attempt to recover the northern districts of the country from the Norwegians; and his sons were driven out by Macbeth, who, for a time, ruled over the south, whilst the Norwegians possessed the north of Scotland.

After the overthrow of this usurper, however, and the establishment of Malcolm Keanmore on the throne, the Lowlands of Scotland were, according to the Saxon policy, divided into earldoms, all of which were granted to members of the royal family. This fact seems conclusive as to the entire overthrow of the Scots, and the destruction of the nobility in the struggle with the Norwegians; indeed the policy of Malcolm Keanmore, and his successors, is not reconcilable with any other supposition. The districts included in Thorfinn's conquest reverted, it is true, to the descendants of the original proprietors, after the expulsion of the Norwegians by Malcolm; but the earldoms into which the rest of the country was divided, and the grants which were made of these to different members of the royal family, may all be traced to this victorious monarch, and appear to have been the consequence of the almost entire destruction of the ancient nobility. These earldoms appear to have consisted of the country inhabited by the Scots, with the addition of the district of Athole; and from this latter circumstance, it has not unreasonably been

presumed that Athole was the original possession of this royal race. When the descendants of Duncan, the eldest son of Malcolm Keanmore, were excluded from the throne by that king's younger sons, the former succeeded to the earldom of Athole, — a circumstance which seems decisive as to that district having originally been the patrimonial possession of their family. And this is further confirmed by the designation which early Scottish historians applied to Crinan, the founder of the royal race. The abbot of Dunkeld, who had married Beatrice, the daughter of Malcolm II, and whose son, Duncan, the issue of this marriage, succeeded his maternal grandfather, and was murdered by Macbeth, is styled by Fordun, Crinan "*Abthanus de Dull ac Seneschallus Insularum.*" Pinkerton has dogmatically denied that such a denomination as Abthane was ever known or heard of; but Mr. Skene has most conclusively shown, not only that there was such a title as Abthane in Scotland, but that the very title of Abthane of Dull existed until a comparatively late period. It is plain, however, that Fordun neither knew what this title actually meant, nor had he any conception of the existence of the Abthanery of Dull, independently of Crinan, the father of Duncan. This, however, only renders it the more evident that he must have derived his information from some authentic source. For, on the one hand, it is difficult to conceive that he would invent a title of which he could not give some feasible explanation; and, on the other, it is impossible to believe that, if he had been aware of the actual existence of the Abthanery of Dull, he would have brought forward the "nonsense" on which Mr. Pinkerton has animadverted. As far as can now be traced, Crinan was the first of the race which gave kings to Scotland from Duncan to Alexander III. Their origin is lost in ob-

security. But supposing that Fordun derived his information from an authentic source (which, for the reasons stated, appears highly probable), it becomes a matter of some historical importance to determine the true import of the title of Abthane in general, as well as that of Dull in particular. On this subject, Mr. Skene has a very curious disquisition, the substance of which we shall endeavour to state as briefly as possible.

The title of Abthane seems to have been peculiar to Scotland, and of but rare occurrence even in that country. No traces have been discovered of more than three Abthaneries, viz., that of Dull in Athole, that of Kirkmichael in Strathardle, and that of Madderty in Stratherne. It would seem, therefore, that Abthane was not so much a distinctive title as a modification of that of Thane; and hence it must have originated subsequently to the introduction of Thanes into Scotland. An idea formerly prevailed that Thanes were the ancient governors of provinces; but this is now universally abandoned, and it is admitted that the Scottish Thane was the same with the English Theyn or Thane, having been introduced along with the Saxon policy into Scotland. According to George Chalmers, indeed, the Thane was merely a land-steward or bailiff, and the Abthane the steward of the abbot, in the same way as the king's Thane was the steward of the king. But it seems impossible to admit either of these explanations. For, in the first place, it is evident that the Saxon Thane was not a land-steward, but the actual proprietor of a certain extent of land held directly of the Crown, in other words, that it was the title of a Saxon landed proprietor of nearly the same rank and station as a Norman baron; and, secondly, as only three instances have been found of the title of Abthane connected with land in Scotland, it is not easy to conceive that this

could have been the general name for the steward of an abbot, or that it was anything, in short, excepting a peculiar modification of the title Thane. Judging from analogy, therefore, we may, with some confidence, infer that the Thanes and the Abthanes of Scotland were proprietors of land in that country.

The Norman institutions were not introduced into Scotland until the accession of David I in the year 1124. Previously to this event not a trace of their existence can be discovered in that country. But it seems certain that during the reign of Edgar, who entered Scotland at the head of a Saxon army, and that of his successor, Alexander I, the constitution of Scotland became purely Saxon. It follows, therefore, that, during these two reigns, or between the years 1098 and 1124, we must look for the origin of Abthanes. But of what class or order of persons were these Abthanes? The presumption seems to be, that Abthane was strictly analogous to Thane, and implied a Saxon landed proprietor. The prefix *Ab* is merely discriminative of a specific variety, and seems to be an abbreviation of *Abbas*, signifying an abbot, *Abbas-Thanus* being shortened into *Abthanus*. Abthanes are defined by Ducange, "*Abbates qui simul erant comites;*" and this derives some support from the analogous case of the *Abbacomites* in Germany, as well as that of the *Abbamilites*, or abbots who held lands of a subject superior. It appears, therefore, that Abthanus was merely *Abbas qui simul erat Thanus*, or an abbot who possessed a thanedom; and as thanedoms were undoubtedly hereditary in Scotland, it is natural to suppose that the name, when once applied, would remain, until it was, in progress of time, superseded by some other. As to the Abthaneries of Dull, Kirkmichael, and Madderty, it may be observed that they were in some respects similarly situated. In the

first place, at the earliest period to which we can trace them, they were vested in the Crown; and, secondly, the monks of Dunkeld had ancient rights connected with all of them. But, to say nothing of these Abthaneries being in the Crown, the rights possessed by the monks of Dunkeld, to the exclusion of the bishop, leave little doubt that the Abthane by whom they were held must have been the Culdee abbot of Dunkeld, who was only superseded by the bishop in the reign of David I; and that the King of Scotland must have been the heir of that abbot. But all these circumstances are true of the Abbot of Dunkeld in the reign of Edgar; for he was the youngest brother of that sovereign, and, on his decease, Edgar, who survived him, became in reality his heir. Upon the whole, then, it may be concluded that Ethelred, abbot of Dunkeld, received from his brother Edgar three thanedoms, under the peculiar appellation of Abthaneries; that as he was the only abbot of royal blood, so these were the only Abthaneries in Scotland; and that, upon his death, they all fell back to the Crown.

"This," says Mr. Skene, "will likewise account for the appellation given by Fordun to Crinan. At that period there was certainly no such title in Scotland; but it is equally certain that there were no charters; and although Crinan had not the name, he may have been in fact the same thing. He was certainly Abbot of Dunkeld, and he may have likewise possessed that extensive territory which, from the same circumstance, was afterward called the Abthanedom of Dull. Fordun certainly inspected the records of Dunkeld; and the circumstance can only be explained by supposing that Fordun may have there seen the deed granting the Abthanedom of Dull to Ethelred, Abbot of Dunkeld, which would naturally state that it had been possessed by his *proavus* Crinan, and from which Fordun would conclude

that as Crinan possessed the thing, he was also known by the name of *Abthanus de Dull.* From this, therefore, we learn the very singular fact, that the race which gave a long line of kings to Scotland were originally lords of that district in Athole, lying between Strathtay and Rannoch, which was afterward termed the *Abthania de Dull.*"

If tradition may be in aught believed, the Clan Donnachie were originally a branch of the Clan Donald, and the first of the Robertsons of Strowan, called Duncan the Fat, was a son of Angus Mor, Lord of the Isles. But the Robertsons are not one of the clans mentioned in the manuscript of 1450, which, though it specifies minutely the descendants of the sons of Angus Mor, does not include in the number the founder of this clan; and there are other circumstances which render it improbable that the Robertsons had ever had any connection as a clan with the Macdonalds. The real descent of the family appears to be indicated by their designation. They are uniformly described as "of Athole" (*de Atholia*); and it is difficult to believe that the mere possession of lands by a stranger in that earldom could have entitled him to take such a designation. Athole was the name of a *comitatus*, and, after the accession of David I, it was as much a barony as any other in the kingdom. Besides, the name of the barony was only taken by its possessors and their descendants, and the use of such a territorial designation as certainly marks out a descent from some ancient baron as if every step of the genealogy could be established. Of this Mr. Skene has given various instances. Indeed, in the other earldoms of Scotland, it is almost invariably found that those families which take from an earldom their peculiar designation, are descendants in the male line of the ancient earls; and hence it may be inferred,

in the case of the Robertsons, that the designation *de Atholia* indicates a descent from the ancient earls of Athole.

The possessions of Duncan of Athole, who is considered as the first of the Robertsons of Strowan, appear to have consisted, first, of the lands afterward erected into the barony of Strowan, particularly Glenerochie, which formed the principal part of them; secondly, of the barony of Disher and Toyer, comprehending the greater part of the present district of Braidalbane; and, thirdly, of Dallmagarth, called *Adulia* in the ancient chartularies, a property which appears to have been originally in possession of the earls of Athole since Malcolm, the third earl, is stated to have granted to St. Andrews the *Ecclesia de Dull*, and this grant was afterward confirmed by his son Henry, the fourth and last earl. The Lowland families, however, which succeeded Henry, and thereby obtained possession of a considerable portion of the earldom of Athole, did not acquire Dull, which appears to have remained in the hands of Duncan of Athole and his descendants; and as the latter could scarcely have wrested these lands by force, from the powerful barons who successively obtained the earldom of Athole, the only mode of accounting for their possessing them is by supposing that Dull constituted a male fief, and that the family which designed itself *de Atholia* were the heirs male of the ancient earls of Athole. But there are other circumstances which still more clearly indicate the real descent of the Robertsons. In the chartulary of Cupar, there is a charter by *Coningus filius Henrici comitis Atholiæ* to the abbey of Cupar, which shows him to have been proprietor of Glenerochie; and this charter, again, is confirmed by *Eugenius filius Coningi filii Henrici comitis Atholiæ*, who was likewise proprietor of Glenerochie. But

Glenerochie is the same as Strowan, having been specially included in the charter by which the possessions of the family were erected into the barony of Strowan; and as the latter was unquestionably a male fief, it may reasonably be inferred that Duncan of Athole was descended from Ewen (*Eugenius*), the son of Conan (*Coningus*), who was the son of Henry, the last earl of Athole of the ancient race. And this conclusion is strengthened by another charter which has been described by Mr. Skene.

"It appears from the chartulary of Inchaffray," says he, "that Ewen, the son of Conan, had married Maria, one of the two daughters and coheiresses of Duncan, the son of Convalt, a powerful baron in Strathearne. Duncan's possessions consisted of Tullibardine and Finach in Stratherne, and of Lethindy in Gowrie; his eldest daughter, Muriel, married Malise, the seneschal of Stratherne, and their daughter, Ada, carried her mother's inheritance, consisting of the half of Tullibardine, the lands of Buchanty, etc., being the half of Finach, and part of Lethindy, to William de Moravia, predecessor of the Murrays of Tullibardine. The other half of these baronies went to Ewen MacConan, who married Maria, Duncan's youngest daughter. Now, we find that in 1284, this Maria granted her half of Tullibardine to her niece, Ada, and William Moray, her spouse; and in 1443, we find Robert Duncanson, the undoubted ancestor of the Robertsons of Strowan, designating himself *Dominus de Fynach*, and granting his lands of Finach, in Stratherne, *consanguineo suo Davidi de Moravia Domino de Tullibardine*. The descent of the family from Ewen, the son of Conan, the second son of Henry, Earl of Athole, the daughters of whose eldest son carried the earldom into Lowland families, is thus put beyond all doubt, and the Strowan Robert-

sons thus appear to be the male heirs of the old earls of Athole." From this view of the genealogy of the Clan Donnachie, it would therefore appear that after the death of Henry, the last Celtic earl of Athole, the district of Athole was divided into two parts; that the eastern descended in the female line; and that the western or more inaccessible portion was apportioned amongst the male descendants of the ancient earls, conformably to the law of gavel, as it obtained in the Highlands of Scotland.

Duncan, surnamed the Fat, married a daughter of a certain Callum Rua, or Malcolm the Red-haired, who, being styled Leamnach, is supposed to have been connected with the earls of Lennox; and by this lady he acquired a considerable addition to his lands, including the southern division of the glen or district of Rannoch. From Duncan the Fat, who appears to have possessed extensive territories in the wild and mountainous parts of Athole, the clan derived their distinctive appellation; and the same corpulent personage is the hero of many traditionary stories which still survive in the memory of the people. He was succeeded by his son, Robert de Atholia, who, having married a daughter of Sir John Sterling of Glenesk, obtained by her part of her father's property, which, however, his daughter Jean afterward carried into the family of Menzies of Fothergill. By a second marriage with one of the coheiresses of Fordell, Robert had four sons, Thomas, Duncan, Patrick, the ancestor of the Robertsons of Lude, and Gibbon. In the celebrated foray or incursion which the Highlanders made into Angus in the year 1392, when Sir Walter Ogilvie and many other Lowland barons were slain, the Clan Donnachie, which then appeared for the first time as a distinct tribe, played a conspicuous part, under their three leaders, Thomas, Patrick, and Gibbon,

evincing singular proficiency in the wild, lawless, and predatory habits peculiar to that barbarous age. According to Winton, these chiefs were surnamed Duncansons. Thomas died leaving an only daughter, who carried part of the property by marriage into the family of Robertson of Straloch; but the barony of Strowan went to Duncan, the eldest brother of Thomas, and he, again, was succeeded by his son, Robert, who figures as one of the heroes of the race.

Possessing considerable power, and addicted to plunder, which he appears to have followed as a regular calling, this Robert was held in great dread by the adjoining Lowlanders, whom he continually harassed by his predatory incursions, despoiling them of their cattle and other property. In those days when might made right, the peaceful inhabitants of the plains were plundered with impunity by the lawless caterans of the mountains, or were obliged to compound with thieves and robbers whom the general government was too weak to repress or punish, by sacrificing a portion of their property for the preservation of the remainder. The career of this freebooter was, however, distinguished by one rather remarkable incident. After the murder of James I by the Earl of Athole, the chief of the Clan Donnachie was fortunate enough to arrest his accomplice Graham, whom, with the master of Athole, he delivered up to the vengeance of the government; and in return for this service, the lands which remained to his family were erected into a barony, and he was authorized to carry upon his escutcheon a man in chains, and to assume the motto *Virtutis gloria merces*, Glory is the reward of virtue. It will not perhaps be disputed that the virtue, the glory, and the reward of this act were all in the most harmonious keeping. Indeed the wonder is, that some more substantial

acknowledgment was not asked and obtained. But considering the habits of this Robert, there was probably a good deal to be forgiven. The circumstances of his death, too, are equally characteristic of the man and the times. Having had some dispute with Forrester of Torwood respecting the lands of Little Dunkeld, of which a feu had been granted to the latter by the Bishop of Dunkeld, but which were claimed by Strowan, in virtue of some pretended title, that chief adopted the old Highland method of advancing his pretensions by ravaging the lands in dispute. But, on this occasion violence was met by violence, and the issue proved fatal to Strowan. On his way to Perth, he was met by Forrester, with a party of his friends near the village of Auchtergaven, and a conflict immediately ensued in which Robertson was mortally wounded in the head. The hardy chief, however, having bound up his head with a white cloth, continued his journey to Perth, and having there obtained from the king a new grant of the lands of Strowan, as a reward for the capture of the master of Athole, set out on his return, but almost immediately afterward expired of his wounds.

The remaining possessions of the family of Strowan had likewise been erected into a barony; but being surrounded by the lands of powerful neighbours, this circumstance could not save them from alienation; and in fact the greater part of them soon found their way into the hands of the grasping barons in the neighbourhood, who, as usual, unscrupulously employed their power to extend their territories. In that age, as has already been remarked, might generally constituted right; and to this it may here be added, that right could only be maintained by might. In proportion as the power of a family declined, its possessions diminished; the law was nearly if not altogether inopera-

tive in the Highlands; and to be defenceless was to incur the hazard, or rather the certainty, of spoliation. Some generations afterward, the Earl of Athole, taking advantage of a mortgage (*Scotice*, a wadset) which he held over the lands of Strowan, succeeded in obtaining possession of nearly the half of the remaining estates of the family; and notwithstanding the manifest injustice of the transaction, the Robertsons were never afterward able to recover the property of which they had thus been despoiled, nor to obtain redress for the wrong committed by a nobleman of so much power and influence. But although their territorial possessions were thus greatly curtailed, the Robertsons always contrived to maintain a prominent rank amongst the Highland clans; and, yielding to none in loyalty and attachment to the house of Stuart, they took an active share in every attempt that was made to replace upon the throne of these realms the descendants of their ancient line of kings. The exploits of Alexander Robertson of Strowan, in the insurrection of 1715, the eccentricity of his habits, his poetical genius, so rare in a Highland chief, and the chivalrous heroism and simplicity of his character, have rendered his name familiar to every one. He was indeed a fine specimen of the dauntless, devoted, and high-bred cavalier; a stranger alike to fear and to reproach; brave, learned, and loyal; a hero in the field, but distinguished alike for his generosity, kindliness, and humanity, as well as for his wit and his peculiarities in the ordinary relations of life. Celebrated in the history of the times when he lived, he has been adopted by tradition, which delights to rehearse his achievements; and, last of all, romance has adorned one of its most magnificent galleries with a full length portraiture of this fine old Scottish chief and cavalier. His family, however, paid dearly for their devotion to the

cause of the exiled royal family; but although their estates were three times forfeited, and their name was associated with every attempt made in Scotland to raise the standard of the ill-fated Stuarts, yet a descendant of the ancient house of Strowan still holds part of the original possessions of the clan, and with them inherits the patronymic of his race.

The force which the Robertsons could bring into the field was estimated at eight hundred men in 1715, and seven hundred in 1745. The principal seat of the family is Mount Alexander in Rannoch.

With the exception of the Clan Donnachie, the Clan Parlan or Pharlan is the only one, the descent of which from the ancient earls of the district where their possessions were situated, may be established by the authority of a charter. It appears indeed that the ancestor of this clan was Gilchrist, the brother of Maldowen or Malduin, the third Earl of Lennox. This is proved by a charter of Maldowen, still extant, by which he gives to his brother Gilchrist a grant "*de terris de superiori Arrochar de Luss;*" and these lands, which continued in possession of the clan until the death of the last chief, have at all times constituted their principal inheritance.

But although the descent of the clan from the earls of Lennox be thus established, the origin of their ancestors is by no means so easily settled. Of all the native earls of Scotland, those of this district alone have had a foreign origin assigned to them, though, apparently, without any sufficient reason. The first Earl of Lennox who appears on record is *Aluin comes de Levenax,* who lived in the early part of the thirteenth century; and there is some reason to believe that from this Aluin the later earls of Lennox were descended.

A different opinion has indeed been expressed by some antiquaries, who, on very slender grounds indeed, have supposed that the founder of this noble family was a certain Northumbrian, called Archillus, who had fled into Scotland, in consequence of the success of William the Conqueror. But, independently of the constant tradition that the earls of Lennox were of native origin, Mr. Skene has shown, from a variety of considerations, that this notion is entirely groundless. In fact, several generations intervened between Archillus, the Northumbrian, and Archill, the father of Aluin, who is supposed from charters still extant to have been the first Earl of Lennox, having been raised to that dignity by William the Lion. It is no doubt impossible to determine now who this Aluin really was; but, in the absence of direct authority, we gather from tradition that the heads of the family of Lennox, before being raised to the peerage, were hereditary seneschals of Stratherne, and baillies of the Abthanery of Dull in Athole. Aluin was succeeded by a son of the same name, who is frequently mentioned in the chartularies of Lennox and Paisley, and who died before the year 1225. He was succeeded by his eldest son Maldowen; and of his other sons, eight in number, only two appear to have left male descendants. One of these, Aulay, founded the family of Fassalane; and another, Gilchrist, having obtained possession of the northern part of Lennox, became the progenitor of the Macfarlanes. Maldowen, the third earl, who died about the year 1270, surrendered to the king Dumbarton castle, which had previously been the chief seat of his family. Of the fourth and fifth earls very little is known. They bore each the name of Malcolm, and the latter was killed at the battle of Halidon Hill, in the year 1333. In his son Donald, the sixth earl, the male branch of the family

became extinct. Margaret, the daughter of Donald, married Walter de Fassalane, the heir male of the family; but this alliance failed to accomplish the objects intended by it, or, in other words, to preserve the honours and power of the house of Lennox. Their son Duncan, the eighth earl, had no male issue, and his eldest daughter Isabella, having married Sir Murdoch Stuart, the eldest son of the regent, he and his family became involved in the ruin which overwhelmed the unfortunate house of Albany. At the death of Isabella, in 1460, the earldom was claimed by three families; but that of Stewart of Darnley eventually overcame all opposition, and acquired the title and estates of Lennox. Their accession took place in the year 1488; upon which the clans that had been formerly united with the earls of the old stock, separated themselves, and became independent.

Of these clans the principal was that of the Macfarlanes, the descendants, as has already been stated, of Gilchrist, a younger brother of Maldowen, Earl of Lennox. In the Lennox charters, several of which he appears to have subscribed as a witness, this Gilchrist is generally designated as *frater comitis*, or brother of the earl. His son Duncan also obtained a charter of his lands from the Earl of Lennox, and appears in the Ragman's roll under the title of "Duncan Macgilchrist de Sevenaghes." From a grandson of this Duncan, who was called in Gaelic, *Parlan*, or Bartholomew, the clan appears to have taken the surname of Macfarlane; indeed the connection of Parlan both with Duncan and with Gilchrist is clearly established by a charter granted to Malcolm Macfarlane, the son of Parlan, confirming to him the lands of Arrochar and others; and hence Malcolm may be considered as the real founder of the clan. He was succeeded by his son Duncan, who ob-

tained from the Earl of Lennox a charter of the lands of Arrochar, as ample in its provisions as any that had been granted to his predecessors; and married a daughter of Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow, as appears from a charter of confirmation granted in his favour by Duncan, Earl of Lennox. Not long after his death, however, the ancient line of the earls of Lennox became extinct; and the Macfarlanes, having claimed the earldom as heirs male, offered a strenuous opposition to the superior pretensions of the feudal heirs. Their resistance, however, proved alike unsuccessful and disastrous. The family of the chief perished in defence of what they believed to be their just rights; the clan also suffered severely, and of those who survived the struggle, the greater part took refuge in remote parts of the country. Their destruction, indeed, would have been inevitable, but for the opportune support given by a gentleman of the clan to the Darnley family. This was Andrew Macfarlane, who, having married the daughter of John Stewart, Lord Darnley and Earl of Lennox, to whom his assistance had been of great moment at a time of difficulty, saved the rest of the clan, and recovered the greater part of their hereditary possessions. The fortunate individual in question, however, though the good genius of the race, does not appear to have possessed any other title to the chiefship than what he derived from his position, and the circumstance of his being the only person in a condition to afford them protection; in fact, the clan refused him the title of chief, which they appear to have considered as incommunicable, except in the right line; and his son, Sir John Macfarlane, accordingly, contented himself with assuming the secondary or subordinate designation of captain of the clan.

From this time, the Macfarlanes appear to have, on all

occasions, supported the Earls of Lennox of the Stewart race, and to have also followed their banner in the field. For several generations, however, their history as a clan is almost an entire blank; indeed they appear to have merged into mere retainers of the powerful family, under whose protection they enjoyed undisturbed possession of their hereditary domains. But in the sixteenth century Duncan Macfarlane of Macfarlane appears as a steady supporter of Matthew, Earl of Lennox. At the head of three hundred men of his own name, he joined Lennox and Glencairn in 1544, and was present with his followers at the battle of Glasgow-Muir, where he shared the defeat of the party he supported. He was also involved in the forfeiture which followed; but having powerful friends, his property was, through their intercession, restored, and he obtained a remission under the privy seal. The loss of this battle forced Lennox to retire to England, whence, having married a niece of Henry VIII, he soon afterward returned with a considerable force which the English monarch had placed under his command. The chief of Macfarlane durst not venture to join Lennox in person, being probably restrained by the terror of another forfeiture; but, acting on the usual Scottish policy of that time, he sent his relative Walter Macfarlane of Tarbet, with four hundred men, to reinforce his friend and patron; and this body, according to Holinshed, did most excellent service, acting at once as light troops and as guides to the main body. Duncan, however, did not always conduct himself with equal caution; for he is said to have fallen in the fatal battle of Pinkey, in 1547, on which occasion, also, a great number of his clan perished. The Highlanders, with all their wild valour, were no match, in any circumstances, for the stern enthusiasts and invincible ironsides commanded by Cromwell; and, at

this battle, their destruction was rendered inevitable by the pragmatic folly and untractable presumption of the preachers, who, superseding the authority of the cautious and experienced general, delivered the Scottish army into the hands of the enemy.

Andrew, the son of Duncan, as bold, active, and adventurous as his sire, engaged in the civil wars of the period, and, what is more remarkable, took a prominent part on the side of the Regent Murray; thus acting in opposition to almost all the other Highland chiefs who were warmly attached to the cause of the queen. He was present at the battle of Langside with a body of his followers, and there "stood the regent's part in great stead;" for in the hottest of the fight, he came up with three hundred of his friends and countrymen, and falling fiercely on the flank of the queen's army, threw them into irretrievable disorder, and thus mainly contributed to decide the fortune of the day. "The clan boast of having taken at this battle three of Queen Mary's standards, which, they say, were preserved for a long time in the family." It would have been well, if they could have "boasted" of similar trophies earned in fighting for a better cause than that of turbulent and grasping nobles, who masked their treasonable ambition and their love of plunder and power under the cloak of a pretended zeal for religion. Be this as it may, however, Macfarlane's reward was not such as afforded any great cause for admiring the munificence of the regent; but that his vanity at least might be conciliated, Murray bestowed upon him the crest of a demi-savage *proper*, holding in his dexter hand a sheaf of arrows, and pointing with his sinister to an imperial crown, *or*, with the motto, *This I'll defend.* Of the son of this chief nothing is known; but his grandson, Walter Macfarlane, returning to the natural feelings of a Highlander, proved himself

as sturdy a champion of the royal party as his grandfather had been an uncompromising opponent and enemy. During Cromwell's time, he was twice besieged in his own house, and his castle of Inveruglas was afterward burned down by the English. But nothing could shake his fidelity to his party. Though his personal losses in adhering to the royal cause were of a much more substantial kind than his grandfather's reward in opposing it, yet his zeal was not cooled by adversity, nor his ardour abated by the vengeance which it drew down on his head.

Amongst the eminent men who have borne this name may be mentioned the distinguished antiquary, Walter Macfarlane of Macfarlane, who is justly celebrated as the indefatigable collector of the ancient records of his country. "The extensive and valuable collections which his industry has been the means of preserving," says Mr. Skene, "form the best monument to his memory; and as long as the existence of the ancient records of the country, or a knowledge of its ancient history, remain an object of interest to any Scotchman, the name of Macfarlane will be handed down as one of its benefactors." His peaceful labours in thus collecting and preserving the muniments and materials of history will ensure him a more enviable, as well as more lasting reputation than any chief of his race ever acquired by his warlike exploits; and when the barbaric splendour of the one has faded away and sunk in the gulf of time, the fame of the antiquary will survive in connection with the ancient history of his country, and thus serve as another proof that it is not the destroyer but the benefactor of his fellow creatures, who is secure of immortality.

The family of Macfarlane, after having possessed their original lands during a period of about six centuries,

is now nearly extinct. Its principal seat was Arrochar, at the head of Lochlong. After the year 1493, the heads of this family were only the captains of the clan, not being the representatives of the ancient chief, whose descendants in fact cannot now be traced, and probably became extinct not long after the period above mentioned.

CHAPTER VII

RISE OF THE MACKINTOSHES

During the middle ages, the native earls or maormors of Moray appear to have been the most powerful chiefs in Scotland. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, their territories extended nearly from sea to sea, and their influence predominated over the whole north of Scotland. To the inroads of the Norwegians, they had opposed a vigorous resistance; and though at last overcome, they recovered, by means of an alliance with the invaders, the greater part of what they had lost by the fortune of arms. The successes of the Norwegians thus contributed to extend the sway of these native chiefs; and, until they sunk under the ascendency of the kings of the line of Malcolm Keanmore, they were in point of fact the real sovereigns of the North. From these ancient *reguli* and their people, many of the Highland clans are supposed by some to be descended.

According to the old genealogies, the clans, taken as a whole, were divided into five classes; one of which consisted of the Macphersons, the Mackintoshes, and the Macnaughtons, to whom some are disposed to add the Camerons, Macleans, Macmillans, and Monros. The class which included these different clans, and extended from Inverness to Kintyre, is supposed to have been descended from the ancient inhabitants of Moray, who most probably were a mixed race; and several plausible arguments, deduced from the genealogies, have been urged in support of this hypothesis. The formation of

these various clans seems to have been the result of that line of policy which, first adopted by Malcolm Keanmore, and steadily pursued by his successors, ended in the complete subjugation of the Moray tribes. But this was the work of time, for more than a century elapsed before their opposition to the feudal government established by Malcolm could be finally overcome. When this had been effected, however, the inhabitants of the northern part were either driven out or removed; a great portion of the modern county of Elgin was depopulated; Norman and Saxon families were established in the country; the earldom of Moray was bestowed upon a nobleman belonging to the Lowlands; and the authority of government was asserted by the erection of the sheriffdoms of Elgin and Nairn. By this important revolution, accomplished after a severe and protracted struggle, the various clans, which had formerly been united under the sway of the native earls, became in some measure independent, and thus, for the first time, assumed separate and distinct denominations.

But of all these by far the most powerful was the Clan Chattan, so called from Gillichattan-more, its founder and head. The original possessions of this clan were very extensive, including the whole of Badenoch, the greater part of Lochaber, and the districts of Strathnairn and Strathdearn, and, before the grant made to Comyn, these lands would seem to have been held in chief of the Crown. The Clan Chattan appears to have been early divided into two principal branches, one of which acknowledged Macpherson of Cluny, and the other Mackintosh of Mackintosh, as its head; and, as might have been expected, this division has given rise to a very keen dispute between the Macphersons and Mackintoshes, respecting the chiefship of the clan. On the one hand, it has been contended that the descent of the

Macphersons from the ancient chiefs of the clan has never been doubted; that the uniform testimony of tradition is in favour of the pretension which has been founded on this supposed descent; and that their claim is further supported by certain historical investigations in the history of the Moray tribes, from which it has been inferred that the Macphersons are the lineal and feudal representatives of the ancient chiefs of the Clan Chattan. On the other hand, we find that the Mackintosh family rests its pretensions upon a different descent from the rest of the clan; that it claims as its ancestor Macduff, Earl of Fife; and that, about the end of the thirteenth century, it obtained the chiefship of the Clan Chattan by means of a marriage with Eva, the daughter and heiress of the grandson of the founder, Gillichattan-more. To all this, however, it has been answered, that the fact of this family styling themselves not chiefs but captains of the clan, and claiming a foreign origin, and founding upon a marriage with the heiress of a chief, the third in the order of succession, creates a strong presumption that they were only the oldest cadets of the clan, and as such had probably usurped the chiefship; and, furthermore, that, according to the manuscript of 1450, the Mackintoshes are as really a branch of the Clan Chattan as the Macphersons themselves.

It is not for us to offer any very decided opinion respecting a matter where the pride and pretensions of rival families are concerned. It may therefore be sufficient to observe that, whilst the Macphersons rest their claims chiefly on tradition, the Mackintoshes have produced, and triumphantly appealed to charters and documents of every description, in support of their pretensions; and that it is not very easy to see how so great a mass of written evidence can be overcome

by merely calling into court Tradition to give testimony adverse to its credibility. The admitted fact of the Mackintosh family styling themselves captains of the clan does not seem to warrant any inference which can militate against their pretensions. On the contrary, the original assumption of this title obviously implies that no chief was in existence at the period when it was assumed; and its continuance, unchallenged and undisputed, affords strong presumptive proof in support of the account given by the Mackintoshes as to the original constitution of their title. The idea of usurpation appears to be altogether preposterous. The right alleged by the family of Mackintosh was not direct but collateral; it was founded on a marriage, and not derived by descent; and hence, probably, the origin of the secondary or subordinate title of captain which that family assumed. But can any one doubt that if a claim founded upon a preferable title had been asserted, the inferior pretension must have given way? or is it in any degree probable that the latter would have been so fully recognized, if there had existed any lineal descendant of the ancient chiefs in a condition to prefer a claim founded upon the inherent and indefeasible right of blood?

But, according to Mr. Skene, the case is now altered, inasmuch as, from "the investigations which he has made into the history of the tribes of Moray, as well as into the history and nature of Highland traditions," he conceives it to be established by "historic authority," that the Macphersons are the lineal and feudal representatives of the ancient chiefs of the Clan Chattan, and "that they possess that right by blood to the chiefship, of which no charters from the Crown, and no usurpation, however successful and continued, can deprive them." It is not very easy to understand, however, by what

LOCH AWE
THE MACARTHUR

particular process of reasoning Mr. Skene has arrived at this conclusion. For supposing it were established "beyond all doubt," as he assumes it to be, by the manuscript of 1450, that the Macphersons and the Mackintoshes are descended from Neachtan and Niell, the two sons of Gillichattan-more, the founder of the race, it does not therefore follow that "the Mackintoshes were an usurping branch of the clan," and that "the Macphersons alone possessed the right of blood to that hereditary dignity." This is indeed taking for granted the very point to be proved, in fact the whole matter in dispute. Mr. Skene affirms that the descent of the Macphersons from the ancient chiefs "is not denied," which is in reality saying nothing to the purpose; because the question is, not whether this pretended descent has or has not been denied, but whether it can now be established by satisfactory evidence. To make out a case in favour of the Macphersons, it is necessary to show, first, that the descendants of Neachtan formed the eldest branch, and consequently were the chiefs of the clan; secondly, that the Macphersons *are* the lineal descendants and the feudal representatives of this same Neachtan, whom they claim as their ancestor; and, lastly, that the Mackintoshes are really descended from Niell, the second son of the founder of the race, and not from Macduff, Earl of Fife, as they themselves have always maintained. But we do not observe that any of these points has been formally proved by evidence, or that Mr. Skene has deemed it necessary to fortify his assertions by arguments and deductions from historical facts. His statement, indeed, amounts just to this: That the family of Macheth, the descendants of Head or Heth, the son of Neachtan, were "identical with the chiefs of Clan Chattan;" and that the Clan Vurich, or Macphersons, were descended from these

chiefs. But, in the first place, the "identity" which is here contended for, and upon which the whole question hinges, is imagined rather than proved; it is a conjectural assumption rather than an inference deduced from a series of probabilities. And, secondly, the descent of the Clan Vurich from the Macheths rests solely upon the authority of a Celtic genealogy (the manuscript of 1450) which, whatever weight may be given to it when supported by collateral evidence, is not alone sufficient authority to warrant anything beyond a mere conjectural inference. Hence, so far from granting to Mr. Skene that the hereditary title of the Macphersons of Cluny to the chiefship of Clan Chattan has been clearly established by him, we humbly conceive that he has left the question precisely where he found it. The title of that family may be the preferable one, but it yet remains to be shown that such is the case.

At the same time, it is very difficult to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion on any point, owing to the obscurity in which the early history of this clan is involved. Few facts have been ascertained concerning it, and these are generally so isolated and disconnected as to render it impossible to determine the real circumstances out of which they arose. For instance, Major the historian, after mentioning the defection of the Clan Chattan and the Clan Chameron from Alexander of the Isles, in 1429, when he was defeated by James I, informs us that these tribes were of the same stock, and that they followed one head of their race as chief. But it is nevertheless certain that nearly forty years before the time mentioned by Major, these tribes had separated, and been engaged in mutual hostilities. The cause of this disunion amongst the different branches of the Clan Chattan is unknown. It appears, however, that two hostile leagues or confederacies were formed, and that it was at length resolved

their differences should be decided by a combat of thirty men upon the one side against the same number upon the other. This conflict, which the works of Sir Walter Scott have rendered familiar to every reader, took place on the North Inch of Perth, in 1396, and terminated in favour of the Clan Chattan. The description of this barbarous and sanguinary encounter, contained in the "Tales of a Grandfather," is of course less embellished, but for that reason probably much more accurate, than the version of the fray which is given in the "Fair Maid of Perth."

"The parties on each side," says he, "were drawn out, armed with sword and target, axe and dagger, and stood looking on each other with fierce and savage aspect, when, just as the signal for fight was expected, the commander of the Clan Chattan perceived that one of his men, whose heart had failed him, had deserted his standard. There was no time to seek another man from the clan, so the chieftain, as his only resource, was obliged to offer a reward to any one who would fight in the room of the fugitive. Perhaps you think it might be difficult to get a man, who, for a small hire, would undergo the perils of a battle which was likely to be so obstinate and deadly. But in that fighting age, men valued their lives lightly. One, Henry Wynd, a citizen of Perth, and a saddler by trade, a little bandy-legged man, but of great strength and activity, and well accustomed to the use of the broadsword, offered himself for half a French crown to serve on the part of the Clan Chattan in the battle of that day.

"The signal was then given by sound of the royal trumpets, and of the great war bagpipes of the Highlanders, and the two parties fell on each other with the utmost fury; their natural ferocity of temper being excited by feudal hatred against the hostile clan, zeal for

the honour of their own, and a consciousness that they were fighting in presence of the king and nobles of Scotland. As they fought with the two-handed sword and axe, the wounds they inflicted on each other were of a ghastly size and character. Heads were cloven asunder, and limbs were lopped from the trunk. The meadow was soon flooded with blood, and covered with dead and wounded men.

"In the midst of the deadly conflict, the chieftain of the Clan Chattan observed that Henry Wynd, after he had slain one of the Clan Kay, drew aside and did not seem willing to fight more. 'How is this?' said he; 'art thou afraid?' 'Not I,' answered Henry, 'but I have done enough of work for half a crown.' 'Forward and fight,' said the Highland chief; 'he that does not grudge his day's work, I will not stint him in his wages.'

"Thus encouraged, Henry Wynd again plunged into the conflict, and, by his excellence as a swordsman, contributed a great deal to the victory, which at length fell to the Clan Chattan. Ten of the victors, with Henry Wynd, whom the Highlanders called the *Gow Chrom* (that is, the crooked, or bandy-legged smith, though he was a saddler, for war-saddles were then made of steel), were left alive, but they were all wounded. Only one of the Clan Kay survived, and he was unhurt. But this single individual dared not oppose himself to eleven men, though all more or less hurt, but throwing himself into the Tay, swam to the other side, and went off to carry to the Highlanders the news of his clan's defeat. It is said he was so ill received by his kinsmen that he put himself to death. Some part of the above story is matter of tradition, but the general fact is certain."

Excepting "the general fact," indeed, little is known concerning this conflict. We are ignorant of the precise nature of the dispute which was thus submitted to the

arbitrament of the sword, the axe, and the dagger, and almost equally so respecting the precise clans who had agreed to settle their differences in this manner. It is said indeed that the cause of contention had arisen a short time before, and that Sir David Lindsay and the Earl of Moray had suggested, if not actually arranged, this barbarous mode of adjustment, although with what particular view it is impossible to ascertain at this distance of time. It appears, also, that the clans called Clan Kay and Clan Chattan by Sir Walter Scott and others were, by the ancient authorities, denominated Clan Yha and Clan Quhele; and from this circumstance, taken in conjunction with some others, Mr. Skene has concluded that the Macphersons were the Clan Yha, and the Mackintoshes the Clan Quhele. But however this may be, it is admitted, on all hands, that the Clan Chattan, or Clan Quhele, were victorious in the combat; and if any inference at all can be drawn from the names, it seems to be this, that the victors were the champions of the clan which is commonly known by the former of these denominations, namely, that of Clan Chattan. The point in dispute was thus settled in their favour; the Mackintoshes were acknowledged as the chiefs of the clan, although under a different denomination; and from the date of the conflict at Perth, in 1396, they continued to be regarded as its heads, exacting obedience as such from its different branches, and willingly followed wherever they chose to lead. It has indeed been alleged that the title of captain, which they assumed, indicates of itself the want of any right by consanguinity to the chiefship; and in the ordinary case there would perhaps have been some force in the objection. But it has already been shown that the Mackintoshes rest their original claim, not on a direct but a collateral title; and, at all events, the objection will

not apply, excepting in the case where a preferable right can be clearly established in favour of some other claimant, as the lineal and feudal representative of the ancient chiefs; a point which has not yet been made out by any evidence that seems capable of standing the test of critical examination.

In the year 1336, William Mackintosh, the head or chief of this clan, obtained a grant of the lands of Glenluy and Lochaber, from John of Islay, afterwards Lord of the Isles; and hence probably originated that mortal feud between the Clan Chattan and the Clan Chameron, which lasted with but little intermission, for upwards of three hundred years. In the fifteenth century (1447), Malcolm Mackintosh, who was then at the head of the clan, received from the Lord of the Isles a grant of the stewardship of Lochaber; and, not many years afterward, the same office was bestowed upon his son Duncan, along with the lands of Keppoch and others included in that lordship. Nor were these the only acquisitions made by the latter. On the forfeiture of the Lord of the Isles, in 1475, James III granted to the same Duncan Mackintosh, captain of the Clan Chattan, a charter of the lands of Moymore, Fern, Clumglassen, Stroneroy, Aucheneroy, and others in Lochaber, which charter is dated the 4th of July, 1476; and in the year 1493, James IV conferred upon him a charter of the lands of Keppoch, Innerorgan, and others, with the office of baillie of the same, probably as a recompense of important services rendered by him to the government of the time. The practice, however, of rewarding one chief at the expense of his neighbours was well calculated to perpetuate those bitter feuds by which the Highlands were so long distracted, and to which the government generally contrived, upon every favourable occasion, to minister fresh aliment. In the present

case, the grant made by the Crown proved the cause of long and fierce contentions between the Mackintoshes and the Camerons, on the one hand, and the Macdonalds of Keppoch, the actual possessors of the soil, upon the other.

From this period may be dated the gradual rise of the Clan Chattan towards that degree of power and consideration which they afterward attained when they had reached the culminating point of their fortunes. But their progress was, as usual, retarded by dissensions and obstructed by difficulties. The Mackintoshes were at variance amongst themselves, and their adherence to the Earl of Moray involved them in hostilities with Huntly. The accession to the chiefship of William Mackintosh of Dunachtan proved the occasion of internal disorder and violence. His title was disputed by John Roy Mackintosh, the head of another branch of the family, who, having set up a claim in his own favour, attempted to seize on the chiefship by force; but failing in his design, he revenged himself by assassinating his rival at Inverness, in the year 1515. This bloody deed, however, was soon followed by summary punishment. The assassin, being closely pursued, was overtaken and slain at Glenesk; and Lachlan, the brother of the murdered chief, was placed at the head of the clan. But the latter did not long enjoy the dignity to which he had been raised, and, like his brother, perished by the hand of an assassin. "Some wicked persons," says Lesly, "being impatient of virtuous living, stirred up one of his own principal kinsmen, called James Malcolmson, who cruelly and treacherously slew his chief." At the time of Lachlan's death his son was a minor, and the clan, being thus left without a head, chose Hector, a natural brother of the deceased, as their chief. This election, however, proved the occasion of an almost

immediate collision with the Earl of Moray. That nobleman, as the maternal uncle of the young chief, felt himself bound to provide for his safety; and having reason to apprehend that the ambition of Hector might lead him to imitate the example of so many other natural brothers similarly circumstanced, he caused the youth to be carried off, and placed in the hands of his mother's relations. The prudence of this measure was speedily made evident. Hector, determined at all hazards to possess himself of the person of the young heir, invaded the lands of Moray, and having succeeded in taking the castle of Petty, put the garrison to the sword. But a severe check awaited him. The earl, having obtained the king's commission, raised his retainers, attacked the Mackintoshes, and having made three hundred prisoners caused them to be instantly executed. Their leader however escaped, and having fled to the king, surrendered himself to his Majesty, from whom he received a remission of all his past offences; an instance of royal clemency, which, in the circumstances, appears not a little extraordinary. But this man was not long afterward killed at St. Andrews; and the young heir, William Mackintosh, having been carefully brought up "in virtue, honesty, and civil policy," was in due time put in peaceful possession of his inheritance.

Scarcely, however, had the young chief been installed as head of the Clan Chattan, when the ancient feud between the Mackintoshes and the family of Huntly broke out afresh, instigated, it would seem, by Lachlan, the son of the man by whom the last chief had been murdered. How this came about we are not informed, and indeed the accounts given respecting the immediate cause of quarrel are various and contradictory. Mackintosh having commenced hostilities by surprising

and burning the castle of Auchindoun, Huntly immediately marched against him, at the head of his retainers, and a fierce struggle ensued. The Mackintoshes were overpowered; and the chief, despairing of mercy at the hands of Huntly, appealed to his lady, before whom he presented himself as a suppliant, in the absence of her husband. The marchioness, however, showed herself a fit mate for such a lord. Seeing the enemy of her house suing for mercy upon her hearth, the inexorable virago, insensible alike to compassion and humanity, caused his head to be struck off, and by this bloody act for ever dishonoured her family and name. The death of the chief, however, was productive of no further injury or loss to the clan. The feud seems to have been extinguished in his blood; and as Huntly now found himself opposed by a party of the nobility, all of them more or less intimately connected with Mackintosh, he was obliged to put the son of that ill-fated chief in possession of his paternal inheritance. The government likewise interposed in his favour, with the view no doubt of counterbalancing the power of Huntly in the North; and not long afterward the prudence of this line of policy was signally illustrated. For, when Huntly had resolved to seize the queen at Inverness, in the year 1562, with the avowed design of compelling her to marry his second son, the timely assistance afforded by Mackintosh mainly contributed to defeat a scheme which might otherwise have proved successful.

The interference of Mackintosh, however, formed a new cause of quarrel; the old feud was rekindled; and, by the intrigues of Huntly, a final separation took place between the Macphersons and the Mackintoshes. Anxious to weaken by dividing the force of Clan Chattan, he encouraged the former to declare themselves independent; and supported by his powerful influence

they now began to assert a right to the chiefship, to which, as far as appears from history, they had never previously made any pretensions. As long as it suited Huntly's purpose to foster this schism, the Macphersons were enabled to refuse obedience to the captain of the Clan Chattan. But when he found it expedient to effect a reconciliation with his former adversary, the Macphersons were abandoned to their fate, and being no longer in a condition to oppose Mackintosh, they were, in 1609, obliged to sign a bond, along with all the other branches of the Clan Chattan, acknowledging him as their chief. But the protracted feuds in which the Mackintoshes became involved with the Camerons and other Lochaber clans again afforded the Macphersons an opportunity of asserting their independence. During all these contentions Mackintosh was obliged to accept of their assistance in the capacity of allies, rather than in that of vassals or dependents, and thus, so far, tacitly to sanction their pretensions, which, after the lapse of some time, were formally asserted and in the first instance recognized.

In the year 1672, Duncan Macpherson of Cluny, having resolved to throw off all connection with Mackintosh, made application to the Lyon office to have his arms matriculated as Laird of Cluny Macpherson, and "the only and true representative of the ancient and honourable family of the Clan Chattan." This application was successful; and soon afterward, when the Privy Council required the Highland chiefs to give security for the peaceable behaviour of their respective clans, Macpherson became bound for his clan under the designation of the Lord of Cluny and *chief of the Macphersons;* thus voluntarily abandoning part of the title contained in the matriculation, namely, that which described him as "the only and true representative of

the ancient and honourable family of the Clan Chattan." Mackintosh, however, as soon as he became apprised of the circumstance, applied to the Privy Council and the Lyon office, to have his own title declared, and that which had been granted to Macpherson recalled and cancelled. An inquiry was accordingly instituted, and both parties were ordered to produce evidence of their respective assertions. But whilst Mackintosh brought deeds in which, during a long course of years, he had been designated as captain of the Clan Chattan, and also founded upon the bond of manrent entered into in 1609 as corroborative evidence of his claim, Macpherson had nothing to allege except tradition, and the argument founded on his pretended representation of the ancient chiefs, in support of which, however, no evidence of any kind appears to have been offered. In these circumstances, the decision could scarcely be doubtful. Accordingly the Council ordered Mackintosh to give bond for those of his clan, his vassals, those descended of his family, his men, tenants and servants, and all dwelling upon his ground; and enjoined Cluny to give bond for those of his name of Macpherson, descended of his family, and his men, tenants and servants, "without prejudice always to the Laird of Mackintosh," who is thus clearly recognized as the head or chief of the Clan Chattan. In consequence of this decision the armorial bearings, in the matriculation of which Macpherson had been described as "the only and true representative of the ancient and honourable family of the Clan Chattan," were recalled; and, as if to put an end for ever to all doubt on the subject, they were again matriculated as those of Macpherson of Cluny.

The subsequent history of the Mackintoshes is diversified only by the ordinary casualties incident to High-

land chiefs. Sometimes at feud with Huntly, and sometimes at peace, they generally maintained the station which they had acquired amongst the clans, without experiencing any remarkable vicissitude of fortune. At a very early period they were engaged in frequent disputes with the Camerons, who then occupied part of Lochaber; but in process of time these were transferred to the Macdonalds of Keppoch, whose position in the Braes of Lochaber exposed them to collision with the Mackintoshes. Besides, the former had no other right to their lands than what was founded upon prescriptive possession; whilst the latter possessed a feudal title to the property, originally granted by the Lords of the Isles, and, on the forfeiture of these petty princes, confirmed by the Crown. The Macdonalds, however, had no disposition whatever to recognize a mere parchment title against ancient and continued possession; nor, on the other hand, were the Mackintoshes inclined to abandon a claim fortified by all the formalities of a law. A feud therefore arose between these clans, and, after various acts of hostility upon both sides, it was at length terminated by "the last considerable clan battle which was fought in the Highlands." Resolved to dispossess the Macdonalds by force, Mackintosh raised his clan, and, assisted by an independent company of soldiers furnished by the government, marched towards Keppoch, in quest of his adversaries. None appeared, however, to dispute his progress. He found the place deserted, and was engaged in constructing a fort in Glenroy to protect his rear, when he received intelligence that the Macdonalds, reinforced by their kinsmen of Glengarry and Glenco, were posted in great force at Mulroy, with the intention of attacking him next morning at daybreak. Instead of waiting for the attack, he now decided to become the assailant, and immediately

marched against the enemy, whom he found prepared for the conflict. The Macdonalds occupied the upper ridge of the heights of Mulroy, and steadily awaited the onset. As soon as the Mackintoshes crowned the height the battle began; but the contest, though fierce, was not of long continuance. The assailants, having attacked at a great disadvantage, were beaten, their chief was made prisoner, and the commander of the independent company was slain. But scarcely had victory declared for the Macdonalds, when a large body of the Macphersons appeared upon the ground, prepared to strike another blow for Clan Chattan. Keppoch, finding himself in no condition to renew the combat, yielded to necessity, and agreed to give up his prisoner, who, as Mr. Skene justly observes, had thus the double humiliation of being captured by the Macdonalds, his enemies, and rescued by the Macphersons, his rebellious vassals.

The conduct of the Macphersons, on this occasion, however, was highly honourable to their character. Forgetting all former feelings of rivalry, they thought only of the credit of the clan, and, by their prompt and seasonable interposition, deprived the Macdonalds of the most precious fruit of their victory. Nor was this important service sullied by any mean or selfish stipulations. Scorning to take advantage of the misfortune which had placed Mackintosh in their hands, they escorted him safely to his own territories, and acquired more honour by their loyalty than they had gained by their courage and decision. From this time the Macdonalds remained in almost undisturbed possession of their lands; whilst the Mackintoshes and Macphersons continued separate and independent clans, although both included under the general denomination of the Clan Chattan.

The latter took a very active part in the insurrection

of 1715; and in the year 1745, a powerful body of them was rapidly advancing to join the standard of the prince, when the disastrous battle of Culloden, fought against every principle of prudence and of military science, destroyed the hopes of his family, and involved all his adherents in ruin. After this fatal defeat, the situation of Cluny became peculiarly distressing. His defection had exaggerated all his faults in the eyes of government, and thus furnished a motive for pursuing him with determined hostility. The same year, he had been appointed to a company in Lord Louden's Highlanders, and had taken the oaths to the government; but his clan were impatient to join the descendant of their ancient kings; and though he hesitated for a time between duty and inclination, yet the latter eventually prevailed, and hurried him on to his ruin. His life was thus forfeited to the laws, and much diligence was exerted to bring him to justice. But neither the fear of danger nor the hope of reward could induce any of his people to betray him, or even to discontinue their faithful services. He lived nine years in a cave, at a short distance from his house, which had been burned to the ground by the king's troops. "This cave," says General Stewart, "was in the front of a woody precipice, the trees and shelving rocks completely concealing the entrance. It was dug out by his own people, who worked by night, and conveyed the stones and rubbish into a lake in the neighbourhood, that no vestige of their labour might betray the retreat of their master. In this sanctuary he lived secure, occasionally visiting his friends by night, or when time slackened the rigour of the search. Upwards of a hundred persons knew where he was concealed, and a reward of £1,000 was offered to any one who should give information against him; and as it was known that he was concealed on his

estate, eighty men were constantly stationed there, besides the parties continually marching into the country, to intimidate his tenantry, and induce them to disclose the place of his concealment."

Sir Hector Monro, at that time a lieutenant in the thirty-fourth regiment, was entrusted with the command of a large party, and continued two whole years in Badenoch, for the purpose of discovering Cluny's retreat. The unwearied vigilance of the clan could alone have saved him from the vigilance of this party, directed as it was by an officer, equally remarkable for his zeal and his knowledge of the country and the people. The slightest inattention, even a momentary want of caution or presence of mind on the part of the Macphersons, would infallibly have betrayed his retreat; yet so true were the clan, so strict in the observance of secrecy, and so dexterous in conveying to him unobserved the necessaries he required, that, although the soldiers were animated by the hope of reward, and a step of promotion was promised to the officer who should apprehend him, not a trace of him could be discovered, nor an individual found base enough to give a hint to his detriment. Many anecdotes have been related of the narrow escapes which he made in eluding the vigilance of the soldiery, especially when he ventured to spend a few of the dark hours convivially with his friends; and also of the diligence, fidelity, and presence of mind displayed by the people in concealing his retreat, and baffling the activity of his pursuers, during a period of no less than nine years. At length, however, wearied out with this dreary and hopeless state of existence, and taught to despair of pardon, he escaped to France in 1755, and died there the following year.

The only cloud which rests upon the memory of this unfortunate chief, and which, as far as we know,

has not yet been removed, arose out of a circumstance to which frequent allusion is made in the Stuart Papers; namely, the detention of a considerable portion of a large sum of money, which the prince, at his departure, had committed to another individual, and part of which was afterward lodged by that person in the hands of Cluny. The demand for restitution, or at least for accounting, is frequently reiterated, but, as far as appears from the documents in question, without any effect. Some apology, however, may be found in the circumstances in which Cluny was at the time placed, which rendered it exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to hold any correspondence with France; and, besides, the matter may have been fully explained and settled, when he afterward escaped to that country.

Some time after the death of Cluny the estate was restored to his family, in whose possession it still remains, and who claim to be the lineal representatives of the ancient chiefs of Clan Chattan, though, as formerly stated, that claim is warmly disputed. The motto of the Clan Chattan is "Touch not the Cat but [without] the glove." Its force was estimated at 1,400 in 1704, at 1,020 in 1715, and at 1,700 in 1745.

CHAPTER VIII

CLANS CHAMERON AND GILLEAN

THERE is some reason to believe that the Clan Chameron and the Clan Chattan had a common origin, and that for a certain time they followed one chief. These tribes are, according to Major, of the same kindred and descent. But, notwithstanding their original connection, they have, ever since the middle of the fourteenth century, if not earlier, been separate and independent clans. Allan, surnamed MacOchtry, or the son of Uchtred, is mentioned by tradition as the chief of the Camerons in the reign of Robert II, at which time a deadly feud existed between them and the Clan Chattan respecting the lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig, in Lochaber; and, according to the same authority, the Clan Chameron and the Clan Chattan were the two hostile tribes between whose champions, thirty against thirty, was fought the celebrated combat at Perth, in the year 1396, before King Robert III with his nobility and court. The Camerons, says a manuscript history of the clan, have an old tradition amongst them that they were originally descended from a younger son of the royal family of Denmark, who assisted at the restoration of Fergus II in 404; and that their progenitor was called Cameron from his crooked nose, a name which was afterward adopted by his descendants. "But it is more probable," adds the chronicler, "that they are the aborigines of the ancient Scots or Caledonians that first planted the country;" a statement which

proves that the writer of the history understood neither the meaning of the language he employed, nor the subject in regard to which he pronounced an opinion. It is not improbable that the Clan Chameron and Clan Chattan were originally kindred tribes, or, in other words, two branches of the same radical stem; but their affiliation, if established at all, must be made out on very different principles indeed from those assumed by the author of the manuscript history.

As far back as can distinctly be traced, this tribe had its seat in Lochaber, and appears to have been first connected with the house of Islay in the reign of Robert Bruce, from whom, as formerly stated, Angus Og received a grant of Lochaber. Their more modern possessions of Lochiel and Locharkaig, situated upon the western side of the Lochy, were originally granted by the Lord of the Isles to the founder of the Clan Ranald, from whose descendants they passed to the Camerons. This clan originally consisted of three septs, — the Camerons or MacMartins of Letterfinlay, the Camerons or Macgillonies of Strone, and the Camerons or Macsorlies of Glennevis; and from the genealogy of one of these septs, which is to be found in the manuscript of 1450, it has been inferred that the Lochiel family belonged to the second, or Camerons of Strone, and that being thus the oldest cadets, they assumed the title of captain of the Clan Chameron. Mr. Skene conjectures that, upon the acquisition of the captainship of Clan Chattan by the Mackintoshes, after their victory at Perth, the MacMartins, or oldest branch, adhered to the successful party, whilst the great body of the clan, headed by the Lochiel family, declared themselves independent; and that in this way the latter were placed in that position which they have ever since retained. But however this may be, Donald

Dhu, who was probably the grandson of Allan MacOchtry, headed the clan at the battle of Harlaw, in 1411, and afterward united with the captain of the Clan Chattan in supporting James I when that king was employed in reducing to obedience Alexander, Lord of the Isles. Yet these rival clans, though agreed in this matter, continued to pursue their private quarrels without intermission; and the same year in which they deserted the Lord of the Isles, and joined the royal banner, viz., 1429, a desperate encounter took place, in which both suffered severely, more especially the Camerons. Donald Dhu, however, was present with the royal forces at the battle of Inverlochy, in the year 1431, where victory declared in favour of the Islanders, under Donald Balloch; and immediately afterward his lands were ravaged by the victorious chief, in revenge for his desertion of the Lord of the Isles, and he was himself obliged to retire to Ireland, whilst the rest of the clan were glad to take refuge in the inaccessible fastnesses of the mountains. It is probably from this Donald Dhu that the Camerons derived their patronymic appellation of MacDhonuill Duibh, otherwise MacConnel Duy, or the son of Black Donald.

But their misfortunes did not terminate here. The Lord of the Isles, on his return from captivity, resolved to humble a clan which he conceived had so basely deserted him; and with this view, he bestowed the lands of the Camerons on John Garbh Maclean of Coll, who had remained faithful to him in every vicissitude of fortune. This grant, however, did not prove effectual. The Clan Cameron, being the actual occupants of the soil, offered a sturdy resistance to the intruder; John Maclean, the second laird of Coll, who had held the estate for some time by force, was at length slain by them in Lochaber; and Allan, the son of Donald Dhu, having

acknowledged himself a vassal of the Lord of Lochalsh, received in return a promise of support against all who pretended to dispute his right, and was thus enabled to acquire the estates of Locharkaig and Lochiel, from the latter of which his descendants have taken their territorial denomination. By a lady of the family of Keppoch, this Allan, who was surnamed MacCoilduy, had a son, named Ewen, who was captain of the Clan Chameron in 1493, and afterward became a chief of mark and distinction. Allan, however, was the most renowned of all the chiefs of the Camerons, excepting, perhaps, his descendant Sir Ewen. He had the character of being one of the bravest captains of his time, and he is stated to have made no less than thirty-five expeditions into the territories of his enemies. But his life was too adventurous to last long. In the thirty-second year of his age he was slain in one of the numerous conflicts with the Mackintoshes, and was succeeded by his son Ewen, who acquired almost the whole estates which had belonged to the chief of Clan Ranald, and to the lands of Lochiel, Glenluy, and Locharkaig added those of Glennevis, Mammore, and others in Lochaber. After the forfeiture of the last Lord of the Isles, he also obtained a feudal title to all his possessions, as well those which he had inherited from his father as those which he had wrested from the neighbouring clans; and from this period the Camerons were enabled to assume that station amongst the Highland tribes which they have ever since maintained.

The Camerons having, as already stated, acquired nearly all the lands of the Clan Ranald, Ewen Allanson, who was then at their head, supported John Moydertach, in his usurpation of the chiefship, and thus brought upon himself the resentment of Huntly, who was at that time all-powerful in the north. Huntly, assisted

by Lovat, marched to dispossess the usurper by force, and when their object was effected they retired, each taking a different route. Profiting by this imprudence, the Camerons and Macdonalds pursued Lovat, against whom their vengeance was chiefly directed, and having overtaken him near Kinloch lochy, they attacked and slew him, together with his son and about three hundred of his clan. Huntly, on learning the defeat and death of his ally, immediately returned to Lochaber, and with the assistance of William Mackintosh, captain of the Clan Chattan, seized Ewen Allanson of Lochiel, captain of the Clan Chameron, and Ranald Macdonald Glas of Keppoch, whom he carried to the castle of Ruthven in Badenoch. Here they were detained for some time in imprisonment; but being soon afterward removed to Elgin, they were there tried for high treason, and being found guilty by a jury of landed gentlemen, were beheaded, whilst several of their followers, who had been apprehended along with them, were hanged. This event, which took place in the year 1546, appears to have had a salutary effect in disposing the turbulent Highlanders to submission, the decapitation of a chief being an act of energy for which they were by no means prepared.

The subsequent history of the Clan Chameron, until we come to the time of Sir Ewen, the hero of the race, is only diversified by the feuds in which they were engaged with other clans, particularly the Clan Chattan, and by those incidents peculiar to the times and the state of society in the Highlands. Towards the end of Queen Mary's reign, a violent dispute having broken out amongst the clan themselves, the chief, Donald Dhu, patronymically styled Macdonald MhicEwen, was murdered by some of his own kinsmen; and, during the minority of his successor, the Mackintoshes, taking

advantage of the dissensions which prevailed in the clan, invaded their territories, and forced the grand-uncles of the young chief, who ruled in his name, to conclude a treaty respecting the disputed lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig. But this arrangement being resented by the clan, proved ineffectual; no surrender was made of the lands in question; and the inheritance of the chief was preserved undiminished by the patriotic devotion of his clansmen. Early in 1621, Allan Cameron of Lochiel, and his son John, were outlawed for not appearing to give security for their future obedience, and a commission was issued to Lord Gordon against him and his clan; but this commission was not rigorously acted on, and served rather to protect Lochiel against the interference of Mackintosh and others, who were very much disposed to push matters to extremity against the Clan Chameron. The following year, however, Lochiel was induced to submit his disputes with the family of Mackintosh to the decision of mutual friends; and by these arbitrators, the lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig were adjudged to belong to Mackintosh, who, however, was ordained to pay certain sums of money by way of compensation to Lochiel. But, as usually happens in similar cases, this decision satisfied neither party. Lochiel, however, pretended to acquiesce, but delayed the completion of the transaction in such a way that the dispute was not finally settled until the time of his grandson, the celebrated Sir Ewen Cameron. About the year 1664, the latter, having made a satisfactory arrangement of the long-standing feud with the Mackintoshes, was at length left in undisputed possession of the lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig; and, with some trifling exceptions, the various branches of the Camerons still enjoy their ancient inheritances. The family of Lochiel, like many others, was constrained

to hold its lands of the Marquis of Argyll, and his successors.

Sir Ewen Cameron, commonly called Ewan Dhu of Lochiel, was a chief alike distinguished for his chivalrous character, his intrepid loyalty, his undaunted courage, and the ability as well as heroism with which he conducted himself in circumstances of uncommon difficulty and peril. This remarkable man was born in the year 1629, and educated at Inverary Castle, under the guardianship of his kinsman, the Marquis of Argyll, who, having taken charge of him in his tenth year, endeavoured to instil into his mind the political principles of the Covenanters and the Puritans, and to induce the boy to attach himself to that party. But the spirit of the youthful chief was not attempered by nature to receive the impressions of a morose and saturnine fanaticism. At the age of eighteen, he broke loose from Argyll, with the declared intention of joining the Marquis of Montrose, a hero more congenial to his own character. He was too late, however, to be of service to that brave but unfortunate leader, whose reverses had commenced before Cameron left Inverary. But though the royal cause seemed lost he was not disheartened, and having kept his men in arms, completely protected his estate from the incursions of Cromwell's troops. In the year 1652, he joined the Earl of Glencairn, who had raised the royal standard in the Highlands, and greatly distinguished himself in a series of encounters with General Lilburne, Colonel Morgan, and others. In a sharp skirmish which took place between Glencairn and Lilburne at Braemar, Lochiel, entrusted with the defence of a pass, maintained it gallantly until the royal army had retired, when Lilburne, making a détour, attacked him in flank. Lochiel kept his ground for some time, until at last finding

himself unable to repel the enemy, who now brought up an additional force against him, he retreated slowly up the hill, showing a front to the assailants, who durst not continue to follow him, the ground being steep and covered with snow. This vigorous stand saved Glencairn's army, which was, at that time, in a disorganized state, owing principally to the conflicting pretensions of a number of independent chiefs and gentlemen, who, in their anxiety to command, forgot the duty of obedience. Lochiel, however, kept clear of these cabals, and stationing himself at the outposts, harassed the enemy with continual skirmishes, in which he was commonly successful. How his services were appreciated by Glencairn we learn from a letter of Charles II to Lochiel, dated at Chantilly, the 3d of November, 1653, in which the exiled king says, " We are informed by the Earl of Glencairn with what courage, success, and affection to us you have behaved yourself in this time of trial, when the honour and liberty of your country are at stake; and therefore we cannot but express our hearty sense of this your courage, and return you our thanks for the same." The letter concludes with an assurance that " we are ready, as soon as we are able, signally to reward your service, and to repair the losses you shall undergo for our service."

Acting in the same loyal spirit, Lochiel kept his men constantly on the alert, and ready to move wherever their service might be required. In 1654, he joined Glencairn with a strong body, to oppose Generals Monk and Morgan, who had marched into the Highlands. Lochiel being opposed to Morgan, a brave and enterprising officer, was often hard pressed, and sometimes nearly overpowered; but his courage and presence of mind which never forsook him, enabled the intrepid chief to extricate himself from all difficulties. Monk

tried several times to negotiate, and made the most favourable proposals to Lochiel on the part of Cromwell; but these were uniformly rejected with contempt. At length, finding it equally impossible to subdue or to treat with him, Monk resolved to establish a garrison at Inverlochy, in the hope of either forcing Lochiel and other loyal chiefs to surrender, or at least of finding them as much employment in their own country as would prevent them from undertaking expeditions against those who had submitted to Cromwell in the Lowlands. With this view, Colonel Bigan transported, by sea, a body of troops, with stores and materials for building, and, having landed at Inverlochy, soon raised a small fort, as a temporary defence against the musketry, swords, and arrows of the Highlanders. Lochiel watched their motions from a hill to the north of the fort, and having accurate information of all that was passing in it, he learned that, on the fifth day, about three hundred men were to embark and sail a few miles along the coast for the purpose of landing at Achdalew, to cut down his wood and carry away his cattle. He had only thirty-eight men with him at the time; but as not a moment was to be lost, he hurried along in a line with the vessel, under cover of the woods, and was soon able to count 140 armed men, besides a number provided with axes and working implements. The disparity of numbers was appalling; and Lochiel, on consulting with his friends, found that the elder and more experienced were opposed to an attack, which they considered as a rash and hazardous enterprise. The younger portion however, declared for an immediate onset, and Lochiel, eager to signalize himself, gave orders to advance. "If every one kills his man," said he, "I will answer for the rest." The Camerons, armed partly with muskets and partly with bows and arrows, but all provided

with broadswords, rushed forward on the enemy, reserving their fire till they almost closed, when almost every shot told. They then attacked with their swords, whilst the English defended themselves with the bayonet. The combat was long and obstinate, but at last the English gave way, retreating slowly, however, and contesting every step with their faces towards the enemy. Lochiel now sent two men round the flank of the enemy, to fire their muskets and make a noise as if a fresh party had arrived, hoping thereby to excite a panic of which he might take advantage. But this only rendered the English desperate, and instead of throwing down their arms, they fought more resolutely than before, expecting no quarter from such determined savages. At length, however, they were completely borne down, and fled, pursued by the Camerons chin-deep into the sea, till the people in the boats received the fugitives and drove back the Highlanders. Of the enemy the number killed exceeded that of Lochiel's men in the proportion of three to one, whilst of the latter only seven fell in the combat. The Highlanders had the advantage of being the assailants, and, profiting by the first surprise, they never allowed the enemy an instant to recover from the confusion occasioned by the rapidity and vigour of the attack. In the course of the struggle the intrepid Lochiel himself had several very narrow escapes.

This victory, so far from abating, rather stimulated his activity, and, in a few days afterward, he cut off a small foraging party belonging to the garrison. But he was immediately afterward called away to join Glencairn, and having collected his men, he formed a junction with the royal force in Athole. In a short time, however, finding that the garrison, taking advantage of his absence, had sent parties to harass and plunder his people,

he returned in the utmost haste with 150 men, leaving the greater part with Glencairn in Athole; and the very day on which he arrived, received a report that the troops were the following day to pillage the lands of his kinsman Cameron of Glennevis. Early next morning he took with him 190 men, whom he stationed near the river side, at the foot of Bennevis, which was then covered with wood about half a mile up the mountain. He had not waited long when the enemy appeared. Having allowed about five hundred of them to pass him, he gave the signal to his men, who instantly rushed on the soldiers, and killing about one hundred of them, pursued the remainder close to the fort. Not an officer escaped upon this occasion; and the soldiers were so much disheartened by their losses, that, after this, they could scarcely be kept to their duty. General Middleton, who had been unsuccessful in a skirmish with General Morgan, now invited Lochiel to come to his assistance. Upwards of three hundred Camerons were immediately assembled, and he marched to join Middleton, who had retreated to Braemar. In this expedition, Lochiel had several encounters with Morgan; and, notwithstanding all the ability and enterprise of the latter, the judgment and promptitude with which the chief availed himself of the accidents of the ground, the activity of his men, and the consequent celerity of their movements, gave him a decided advantage in this *guerre de chicane*. With trifling loss to himself, he slew a considerable number of the enemy, who were often attacked both in flank and rear when they had no suspicion that an enemy was within many miles of them. An instance of this occurred at Lochgarry in August, 1653, when Lochiel, in passing northwards, was joined by about sixty or seventy Athole men, who went to accompany him through the hills. Anxious

to revenge the defeat which his friends had, a short time previously, sustained upon the same spot, he planned and executed a surprise of two regiments of Cromwell's troops, which, on their way southward, had encamped upon the plain of Dalnaspiddel; and although it would have been the height of folly to risk a mere handful of men, however brave, in close combat with so superior a force, yet he killed a number of the enemy, carried off several who had got entangled in the morass of Lochgarry, and completely effected the object of the enterprise.

But all his exertions proved unavailing. Middleton, being destitute of money and provisions, was at length obliged to submit, and the war was thus ended, excepting with Lochiel himself, who, firm in his allegiance, still held out, and continued to resist the encroachments of the garrison quartered in his neighbourhood. He surprised and cut off a foraging party, which, under the pretence of hunting, had set out to make a sweep of his cattle and goats; and he succeeded in making prisoners of a number of Scotch and English officers, with their attendants, who had been sent to survey the estates of several loyalists in Argyleshire, with the intention of building forts there to keep down the king's friends. This last affair was planned with great skill, and, like almost all his enterprises, proved completely successful. But the termination of his resistance was now approaching. He treated his prisoners with the greatest kindness, and this brought on an intimacy, which ultimately led to a proposal of negotiation. Lochiel was naturally enough very anxious for an honourable treaty. His country was impoverished and his people were nearly ruined; the cause which he had so long and bravely supported seemed desperate; and all prospect of relief or assistance had by this time com-

pletely vanished. Yet the gallant chief resisted several attempts to induce him to yield, protesting that, rather than disarm himself and his clan, abjure his king, and take the oaths to an usurper, he would live as an outlaw, without regard to the consequences. To this it was answered that, if he only evinced an inclination to submit, no oath would be required, and that he should have his own terms. Accordingly, General Monk, then commander-in-chief in Scotland, drew up certain conditions which he sent to Lochiel, and which, with some slight alterations, the latter accepted and returned by one of the prisoners lately taken, whom he released upon parole. And proudly might he accept the terms offered to him. "No oath was required of Lochiel to Cromwell, but his word of honour to live in peace. He and his clan were allowed to keep their arms as before the war broke out, they behaving peaceably. Reparation was to be made to Lochiel for the wood cut by the garrison of Inverlochy. A full indemnity was granted for all acts of depredation and crimes committed by his men. Reparation was to be made to his tenants for all the losses they had sustained from the troops. All tithes, cess, and public burdens which had not been paid were to be remitted." This was in June, 1654.

Lochiel with his brave Camerons lived in peace till the Restoration, and during the two succeeding reigns he remained in tranquil possession of his property. But in 1689, he joined the standard of King James, which had been raised by Viscount Dundee. General Mackay had, by orders of King William, offered him a title and a considerable sum of money, apparently on the condition of his remaining neutral. The offer, however, was rejected with disdain; and at the battle of Killiecrankie, Sir Ewen had a conspicuous share in the success of the day. Before the battle, he spoke to each of

his men, individually, and took their promise that they would conquer or die. At the commencement of the action, when General Mackay's army raised a kind of shout, Lochiel exclaimed, "Gentlemen, the day is our own; I am the oldest commander in the army, and I have always observed something ominous or fatal in such a dull, heavy, feeble noise as that which the enemy has just made in their shout." These words spread like wildfire through the ranks of the Highlanders. Electrified by the prognostication of the veteran chief, they rushed like furies on the enemy, and in half an hour the battle was finished. But Lord Dundee had fallen early in the fight, and Lochiel, disgusted with the incapacity of Colonel Cannon, who succeeded him, retired to Lochaber, leaving the command of his men to his eldest son. This heroic and chivalrous chief survived till the year 1719, when he died at the age of ninety, leaving a name distinguished for bravery, honour, consistency, and disinterested devotion to the cause which he so long and ably supported.

The character of Sir Ewen Cameron was worthily upheld by his grandson, the "gentle Lochiel," though with less auspicious fortune. The share which that gallant chief had in the ill-fated insurrection of 1745–1746 is well known, and his conduct throughout was such as to gain him the esteem and admiration of all. If the rest of the clans assembled on the field at Culloden had behaved like the Camerons and the Athole Highlanders, or had even sustained them in their gallant attack, the name of Cumberland would not have acquired so infamous an immortality in the Highlands of Scotland, and the British nation would have been spared the disgrace afterward brought upon it by the ignominious convention of Closter-Seven. The estates of Lochiel were of course included in the numerous

forfeitures which followed the suppression of the insurrection; but notwithstanding that the clan had been concerned in every attempt made in favour of the house of Stuart, these were afterward restored, and still remain in possession of the family.

The force of the Camerons was estimated at eight hundred in 1715, and at the same amount in 1745; so that, at both periods, they were a powerful clan.

The Clan Gillean is one of those to which a Norman origin has been assigned, although, as would seem, without any sufficient ground. Its early history is involved in great obscurity; nor is it worth while to attempt to thread the mazes of fanciful and traditionary genealogies. It appears, however, that, about the period when the lordship of the Isles was forfeited this clan was divided into four independent branches, each of which held of the Lord of the Isles, and none had therefore any claim to feudal superiority. The branches in question were the Macleans of Dowart, the Macleans of Lochbuy, the Macleans of Coll, and the Macleans of Ardgour.

The first and the most important branch was that of Dowart, the founder of which was Lachlan Maclean, surnamed Lubanich, who, in the year 1366, married Margaret, daughter of John, first Lord of the Isles. By this lady he had a son, Hector, who, as well as his father, received extensive possessions both in the Isles and on the mainland, from John and his successor Donald, as Lords of the Isles. Hector Maclean served under Donald at the battle of Harlaw, where he lost his life; and a descendant of his commanded at the battle of the Bloody Bay, where he was taken prisoner by the Clan Donald. The latter was also the leader at the time of the forfeiture in 1493, when a great part of the islands of Mull and Tyree, with detached lands in Islay, Jura, Scarba,

and in the districts of Morven, Lochaber, and Knapdale, appear to have been comprehended in his possessions. In the reign of James VI, the family of Maclean of Dowart was one of the most powerful of the Hebrides; but before the close of the seventeenth century, it had lost nearly all its great possessions, and fallen from its high estate to a condition of comparative insignificance. The primary cause of this decline may be traced to the feud which broke out, in the time of Queen Mary, between the Macleans and the Macdonalds. In the two subsequent reigns, there had accumulated against the barony of Dowart a number of debts, which enabled the Marquis of Argyll and his successors to prefer a claim to the estate; and this the Macleans, weakened by their exertions in favour of the descendants of the Stuart line, never had an opportunity of shaking off, or effectually resisting, so that the ambitious and aspiring house of Argyll was aggrandized at their expense. Maclean of Dowart has generally been considered as the chief of all the Macleans.

The second branch of the Macleans was that of Lochbuy, descended from Hector Reganach, the brother of Lachlan Lubanich. This Hector was the father of Murchard, whose great-grandson, John Maclean of Lochbuy, was at the head of this sept in the year 1493. The nominal possessions of the family at that period comprehended lands in Mull, Tyree, Jura, Scarba, and Morven, with the lands of Lochiel in Lochaber, and those of Durer and Glenco in Lorn. The lands of Lochiel, on the forfeiture of the chief of the Clan Chameron, had been granted by Alexander, Earl of Ross, to John Maclean of Coll, and were subsequently, for some reason which does not appear, conferred upon Maclean of Lochbuy by John, Earl of Ross, so that there were three competing claimants for the lands in question. But, as formerly stated,

the Camerons proved successful in retaining possession; and the Macleans, although they appealed to the sword, the usual arbitrator of such disputes in the Highlands, failed in making good the charters they had obtained. It is uncertain whether Maclean of Lochbuy was more successful in enforcing his claims to Durer and Glenco; but, with these exceptions, he appears to have possessed, free of dispute or interruption, the lands already mentioned as having belonged to his family; and these have been inherited, without diminution by his successors. The house of Lochbuy has always maintained that of the two brothers, Lachlan Lubanich, and Hector Reganach, the latter was the senior, and that, consequently, the chiefship of the Macleans is vested in its head; "but this," says Mr. Gregory, "is a point on which there is no certain evidence."

The third branch of the Macleans was that of Coll, descended like that of Dowart, from Lachlan Lubanich, who is said to have been grandfather to the fourth laird of Dowart, and the first laird of Coll, who were brothers. It is disputed which of the two brothers was the senior; and Mr. Gregory states, that such evidence as he has seen tends rather to support the claim of the family of Coll. But however this may be, John Maclean, surnamed Garbh, received the island of Coll and the lands of Quinish in Mull from Alexander, Earl of Ross, who afterward, on the forfeiture of Cameron, granted to the same John Garbh a charter of the lands of Lochiel; a grant which, as we have seen, engendered a deadly feud between the Camerons and the Macleans, and was productive of much contention and bloodshed. At one time, the son and successor of John Garbh, occupied Lochiel by force, and for a short time held possession of the country; but he was at last killed at Corpach by the Camerons, and his infant son would

have shared the same fate, had the boy not been saved by the Macgillonies, a tribe of Lochaber that generally followed the Clan Chameron. The youth who owed his preservation to the humanity of this sept, was afterward known as John Abrach Maclean of Coll. He was the representative of the family in 1493, and from him was adopted by his successors the patronymic appellation of Maclean Abrach, by which the laird of Coll is still distinguished.

The fourth branch of the Macleans was that of Ardgour, descended from Donald, another son of Lachlan, third laird of Dowart, and which held its lands directly from the Lord of the Isles. Ardgour, which formerly belonged to a different tribe, was conferred upon Donald, either by Alexander, Earl of Ross, or by his son and successor John. In 1463, Ewen or Eugene, son of Donald, held the office of seneschal of the household to the latter earl; and in 1493, the laird of Ardgour was Lachlan MacEwen Maclean. It would be endless, however, to trace the alliances and connections of this and the other branches of the Clan Gillean, which were numerous and complicated, embracing all the principal families of the Isles, and several on the mainland, by which means their power and influence was greatly increased.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Macleans of Lochbuy, Coll, and Ardgour, more fortunate than the eldest branch of the clan, contrived to preserve their estates nearly entire, although compelled by the policy of the Marquis of Argyll to renounce their holdings *in capite* of the Crown, and to become vassals of that aspiring nobleman and his successors. But notwithstanding this change of tenure, they continued zealous partisans of the Stuarts, in whose cause they suffered considerably. At the battle of Inverkeithing, in 1652, the Macleans lost several hundred

men, and a large proportion of officers. In 1715, they joined the insurrection under the Earl of Mar, and, on that occasion, incurred the same penalty with the other clans who had taken part in the same ill-conducted and unfortunate expedition. But their estates being afterward restored, they listened to the persuasions of President Forbes, and remained quiet during the subsequent insurrection of 1745, when the chances of success had greatly improved, and when a general rising of the clans would most probably have placed the crown on the head of the descendant of their ancient line of kings. Their force, which, in 1715, was estimated at eight hundred men, had, in 1745, declined to five hundred.

CHAPTER IX

CLAN CAMPBELL AND OTHERS

I. Mr. Pinkerton, misled by a very fanciful etymology, has assigned to the Campbells a Norman origin, and in this notion he has been followed by all those persons who find it more easy to adopt an authority than to investigate a fact, or discuss an opinion. Having assumed that the name Campbell is merely an abbreviated form of Campo-bello, he concluded, first, that the latter was a Norman appellation; and, secondly, that the Campbells were not Celts but Goths, who had originally sprung from a Norman family, known by the designation of Campo-bello. But in answer to this etymological conceit, it may be sufficient to observe, that, as far as an inference can be deduced from a name, that of Campbell, if it had originally been Campo-bello, would have indicated an Italian rather than a Norman origin; and, besides, that no trace has ever been discovered of the existence of a Norman family distinguished by the name of Campo-bello. Doomsday-book and other similar records make no mention of any such family. The farther back we trace the denomination of this clan, the more unlike does it become to the Italianized name of Campo-bello; and the oldest mode of writing it is that in the Ragman Roll, where it appears as Cambel or Kambell, a word clearly of Celtic derivation.

The Campbells first made their appearance in the reign of Alexander III, when they were divided into two great families, which were afterward distinguished by

the patronymics of MacArthur and MacCaillanmore. In 1266, Gillespie Cambel, head of the MacCaillanmore branch, witnessed the charter of erection of the burgh of Newburgh by Alexander III; and there is some reason to believe that he was heritable sheriff of Argyle, which had, in 1221, been erected into a sheriffdom by Alexander II. But it was not until the reign of Robert Bruce that the Campbells obtained a firm footing in Argyle, and laid the foundation of their future greatness and power. To the gratitude of that sovereign, whom he had faithfully served, Sir Niell Campbell of Lochawe was indebted for many grants that were made to him out of the lands forfeited by the house of Lorn, the Comyns, and other supporters of the party of John Baliol. The marriage of this baron with the sister of King Robert attached the Campbells still more closely to the dynasty of Bruce; and, during the minority of David II they adhered to his interests with unwavering fidelity. Early in the fifteenth century, Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochawe, afterward the first Lord Campbell, was considered as one of the most wealthy barons in Scotland. Colin Campbell, grandson of Sir Duncan, and first Earl of Argyll, acquired by marriage the extensive lordship of Lorn, and, for a long period, held the office of chancellor of Scotland. In 1475, this nobleman was appointed to prosecute a decree of forfeiture against John, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, and, in 1481, he received a considerable grant of lands in Knapdale, alongst with the keepership of the castle of Sweyn, which had formerly been held by the Lord of the Isles. Colin, the first earl, died in the year 1492, and was succeeded by his son Archibald, the second earl, of whom, however, little or nothing is known.

The Campbells, ever ambitious and aspiring, continued to make rapid advances in power and influence

during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Marquis of Argyll, commonly called Gillespie Grumach, did more to aggrandize his family than almost any of his predecessors. He succeeded in establishing claims to a great part of the estate of Dowart, and he obliged all the other branches of the Macleans, as well as the Clan Chameron, the Clan Ranald of Garmoran, the Clan Neill of Gigha, and many other tribes, to become his vassals, notwithstanding that they had previously held their lands of the Crown. His son, the ninth Earl of Argyll, consolidated the power which he had thus acquired; and, as the forfeitures of this earl and his father were rescinded at the Revolution, the family of Argyll found itself possessed of greater influence than any other in Scotland; and, as formerly, this influence was supported by the willing service and coöperation of a great many powerful families of the same name.

The MacArthur branch appears to have been originally at the head of the Clan Campbell, and to have held this position until the reign of James I, when it was displaced by the MacCaillanmore branch, which has ever since maintained an undisputed supremacy. The force of the clan, at different times, has varied considerably. In 1427, it was only one thousand; but in 1715, it had increased to four thousand, and in 1745, it amounted to five thousand. At Culloden, the Campbells were opposed to their countrymen, and did very serious injury to the Highland army by breaking down a wall, and opening a flanking fire at the critical moment of the battle. It is but just to add, that this powerful clan has generally contrived to be on the strongest side.

II. The Clan Leod has commonly been supposed to be one of those whose Norwegian origin cannot be disputed; but Mr. Skene assures us that there is not a vestige of authority for this opinion, unless indeed a

doubtful and comparatively recent tradition be regarded as such. The clan in question, however, comprehended two leading septs or branches; the Siol Torquil or Macleods of Lewis, and the Siol Tormod or Macleods of Harris, which, though descended from a common progenitor, Leod, were in fact two distinct and independent clans.

At the accession of David II, the islands of Lewis and Skye belonged to the Earl of Ross. But when John of Islay, afterward Lord of the Isles, made his peace with David in the year 1344, he had influence enough to retain Lewis, which, from this time, was held by the Siol Torquil as his vassals. In the same reign Torquil Macleod, chief of the tribe or sept, received a royal grant of the lands of Assynt in Sutherland; and early in the fifteenth century these lands were given in vassalage by Roderick Macleod of the Lewis to his younger son Tormod, ancestor of the Macleods of Assynt. In the year 1493 the head of the Siol Torquil was another Roderick, the grandson of the former, whose eldest son was mortally wounded at the battle of the Bloody Bay, and died without issue; so that Torquil, his second son, became heir of the Lewis. The possessions of the Siol Torquil were very extensive, comprehending the isles of Lewis and Rasay, the district of Waterness in Skye, and those of Assynt, Cogeache, and Gairloch on the mainland. The principal surviving branches of the Siol Torquil, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were the families of Rasay and Assynt. The latter property passed into the hands of the Mackenzies about the end of the seventeenth century; but the family continued to exist, notwithstanding its losses and misfortunes. The Macleods of Cadboll are cadets of those of Assynt. The chief of the Siol Torquil is Macleod of Rasay.

Malcolm Macleod, the head of the Siol Tormod, received from David II a charter of the lands of Glenelg, which he and his successors always held of the Crown. But the principal possessions of this tribe were, before the forfeiture in 1493, held under the Lord of the Isles, by whose predecessors they had been acquired in various ways, though chiefly by marriage. The Isle of Skye originally formed part of the earldom of Ross; but when the latter was annexed to the Crown in 1478, Skye was not included in the annexation, and remained in the hands of the Lord of the Isles, under whom the Siol Tormod held the districts of Dunvegan, Duirinish, Bracadale, Lyndale, Trouterness, and Minganish, being about two-thirds of the whole island. The head of the Siol Tormod, in 1493, was Alexander, surnamed Crottach, or the Humpbacked. This branch of the Macleods continued to possess Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg, until near the end of the eighteenth century; but the estates of Harris and Glenelg have now passed into other hands. The principal cadets of the Siol Tormod were the families of Bernera, Talisker, Grisernish, and Hamer; and besides these, there were other respectable families of the same name settled in Skye, and also in Harris and Glenelg, where some of them still remain.

During the great civil wars of the seventeenth century, the Macleods joined the royal army with a considerable body of men, and took a very active share in all the troubles of that period; but on the last occasion, when the clans raised the banner of the Stuarts, the Macleods, dissuaded by President Forbes of Culloden, abstained from taking any share in the insurrection, and thus escaped the forfeitures which followed its suppression. The force of this clan was estimated at seven hundred in 1704, at one thousand in 1715, and at seven hundred in 1745.

MACNAB BURYING GROUND
THE MACNAB

III. The Clan Kenneth has, it seems, long boasted of its descent from the Norman family of Fitzgerald in Ireland, and founded its pretension to Hiberno-Norman origin upon a fragment of the records of Icolmkill, and a charter of the lands of Kintail granted by Alexander III to Colin Fitzgerald, the supposed progenitor of the Mackenzies. But this claim, as usual, has been disputed; and with regard to the charter, Mr. Skene declares that " it bears the most palpable marks of having been a forgery of later date, and one by no means happy in its execution." The first of this family, of whom anything certain is known, is Murdoch, the son of Kenneth of Kintail, to whom David II is said to have granted a charter as early as the year 1362. In less than a century after this, the clan appears to have become one of considerable strength and importance; for its chief is ranked as the leader of two thousand men, and he was amongst those Highland barons treacherously arrested by James I in his parliament, held at Inverness in the year 1427. Kenneth More, the chief in question, was succeeded by his son Murdoch, who, on the forfeiture of the Earl of Ross and the Lord of the Isles, eagerly seized the opportunity thus offered to assert his independence, and hence became involved in contentions and feuds with the Macdonalds. The result, however, was favourable to the aggrandizement of the Mackenzies; who not only established their independence, but gradually increased in extent of territory and influence until they rose to be one of the principal clans of the north. Their principal antagonists were the Glengarry branch of the Macdonalds, with whom they maintained a long and sanguinary feud; but, partly by policy, and partly by force, they ultimately prevailed. The Macdonalds, attacked in their own country, were defeated with great slaughter. The son of their leader was killed, and his clan reduced al-

most to desperation; and Kenneth Mackenzie succeeded in obtaining a crown-charter to the disputed districts of Lochalsh, Lochcarron, and others, together with the castle of Strome. This charter is dated in the year 1607, and soon afterward Kenneth Mackenzie was raised to the peerage by the style and title of Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, whilst his son Colin was, at the same time, created Earl of Seaforth. The extent of their territories justified these promotions. "All the Highlands and Isles, from Ardnamurchan to Strathnaven, were either the Mackenzies' property, or under their vassalage, some few excepted;" and all about them were bound to them "by very strict bonds of friendship."

The Mackenzies were concerned in all the attempts that were made by the Highland clans in favour of the Stuarts, excepting the last, in which they took no part whatever. Having been twice forfeited, they listened to the dictates of prudence, enforced by President Forbes, and declined a third time to incur the hazards of insurrection. But not long afterward the family became extinct, and their estates have, by the marriage of the heiress, passed into the hands of a stranger. The force of the Clan Kenneth was estimated at two thousand in 1427, at twelve hundred in 1704, and at twenty-five hundred in 1745.

IV. The possessions of the Clan Roich, or Monros, are situated to the north of the Frith of Cromarty, and generally known in the Highlands by the name of *Ferrin Donald*, being so called from the progenitor of the Clan Donald, who also bore the patronymic of Macain. In a charter granted by the Earl of Sutherland, as early as the reign of Alexander II, mention is made of the chief, Monro of Fowlis; but the first feudal titles obtained by this family are of a much later date, having been conferred on them by the Earl of Ross,

their feudal superior, about the middle of the fourteenth century. From this period, they appear to have remained in possession of the same territories without increase or diminution; and in the sixteenth century they were considered as a clan of considerable importance, partly on account of their high reputation for courage and enterprise. During the civil wars of the following century, however, when the majority of the Highlanders espoused the royal cause, the Monros embraced the popular side, and, from this period, continued to give a steady and determined opposition to all the efforts made in favour of the exiled family. The cause of this anomaly has not been satisfactorily explained; though some have supposed that the habits acquired in foreign service, during the continental wars, disposed them, on their return to their own country, to support the established government without regard to those feelings and sentiments by which the great majority of the Highlanders were swayed. The Mackays and the Lowland Scotch, who had served in Germany, appear to have all acted upon the same principle; and it is certainly not improbable that, as soldiers of fortune, they belonged to that class of which the renowned soldado, Dugald Dalgetty, may be considered as the type and representative. In 1745, the Monros, true to the maxim which had so long guided their conduct, joined the government forces, and were present at the battle of Falkirk, where their chief, Sir Robert Monro of Fowlis, fell fighting against the cause which the swords of the Highlanders had rendered victorious. In 1704 and 1715, the force of the Clan Roich was estimated at four hundred, and in 1745 at five hundred men, capable of bearing arms in the field.

V. Under the general denomination of Siol Alpine are included several clans situated at considerable

distances from one another, but all of them supposed to have been descended from Kenneth Macalpine, the founder of the Scottish monarchy, and the ancestor of a long line of Scottish kings.

These are the Clan Gregor, or Macgregor; the Clan Grant, or Grants; the Clan Fingon, or Mackinnons; the Clan Anaba, or Macnabs; the Clan Duffie, or Macfies; the Clan Quarrie, or Macquarries; and the Clan Aulay, or Macaulays, who have at all times claimed the distinction of being the noblest and most ancient of the Highland clans. The validity of this lofty pretension has, however, been disputed; and, in point of fact, it appears that the clans, composing the Siol Alpine, were never united under the authority of a common chief, but, on the contrary, were, from the earliest period, at variance amongst themselves; in consequence of which they sunk into insignificance, and became of little account or importance in a general estimate of the Highland tribes. But the principal clan appears to have been that of the Macgregors, a race famous for their misfortunes as well as the unbroken spirit with which they maintained themselves linked and banded together in spite of the most severe laws executed with the greatest rigour against all who bore this proscribed name. For details, however, respecting this and the other clans, included under the general denomination of Siol Alpine, the reader is referred to Skene's "History of the Clans," in which some curious notices of each will be found arranged in the order of the enumeration above given.

VI. It only remains to advert shortly to several of those families which, though not originally of Celtic origin, have yet, from various causes, established themselves in the Highlands, and, in some instances, attained considerable power and influence.

1. Amongst these, the first place is due of right to the Stewarts, who are generally considered as a branch of the Norman family of Fitzallan. Their primary seat was in Renfrewshire; but from the extensive territories which they acquired, some of them penetrated into the Highlands, and became the founders of distinct families of the same name. Of these, the principal were the Stewarts of Lorn, of Athole, and of Balquhidder, from one or other of which all the rest have been derived. The Stewarts of Lorn are descended from a natural son of John Stewart, the last Lord of Lorn, who, with the assistance of the Maclarens, retained forcible possession of part of his father's estates. From this family sprung the Stewarts of Appin, Invernahyle, Fasnacloich, and others, as also Stewart of Grandtully in Athole, who is supposed to have derived his origin from Alexander Stewart, the fourth son of John, Lord of Lorn. The Stewarts of Athole consist almost entirely of the descendants of Alexander Stewart, commonly called the Wolfe of Badenoch; and of these, the principal was the family of Stewart of Garth, descended from James Stewart, a natural son of the same redoubted personage, who obtained a footing in Athole, by marrying the daughter and heiress of Menzies of Fortingall. This family, from which proceed almost all the other Athole Stewarts, became extinct in the direct line by the death of the gallant and patriotic historian of the Highland Regiments, and the property which they had for ages possessed has now passed into the hands of the stranger. The Balquhidder Stewarts derive their origin from illegitimate branches of the Albany family.

2. The family of Menzies are thought to be of Lowland extraction. Their original name was Meyners, and from the bearings of their arms it has been conjectured that they were a branch of the English family of Manners,

and consequently of Norman origin. But, however this may be, they obtained a footing in Athole at a very early period, as appears fron a charter granted by Robert de Meyners, in the reign of Alexander II. Alexander de Meyners, the son of this Robert, possessed the lands of Weem, Aberfeldy, and Glendochart in Athole, besides his original estate of Durrisdeer in Nithsdale; and he was succeeded by his eldest son, Robert, in the properties of Weem, Aberfeldy, and Durrisdeer, whilst his second son, Thomas, obtained the lands of Fortingall. From the former of these the present family is descended; but that of Menzies of Fortingall became extinct in the third generation, and its property was transferred to the Stewart family by a marriage with the heiress of James Stewart, a natural son of the Wolfe of Badenoch.

3. The family of the Frasers is generally allowed to be of Norman origin. Their original seat appears to have been in the south of Scotland; and, at an early period, they possessed considerable estates in East Lothian and Tweeddale, where they were known by the name of Frisale, as appears from the roll of Battle Abbey; but during the reign of King Robert Bruce, they began to move northwards, penetrating into the Mearns and Aberdeenshire, and, finally, into Inverness-shire. Simon Fraser was the founder of the family of Lovat. He married Margaret, daughter of John, Earl of Orkney and Caithness, and, on the death of Magnus, his successor, contested the succession with the Earl of Stratherne; but, though he failed in this, he, at the same time, acquired the property of Lovat in right of his wife, who was the daughter and heiress of Graham of Lovat; and his son Hugh, who succeeded him in the possession of Lovat and the Aird, is thus the undisputed ancestor of the present family. Those who wish for further information may consult Anderson's elaborate history of

the house of Fraser, which contains matter sufficient to satiate the curiosity of the most inquisitive genealogist. The title which fell under the attainder of the last Lord Lovat, in 1748, has recently been revived in the person of his actual representative, whose high personal character and steady attachment to the principles of liberty well merited such a distinction.

4. The Chisholms, notwithstanding their great desire to be considered as a Gaelic clan, are undoubtedly of Lowland origin. This, as Mr. Skene has shown, is proved by the early charters of the family, particularly by a deed dated the 15th of April, 1403; and the same author is of opinion that their original seat was in Roxburghshire, where persons of this name still remain. The principal possessions of this family consist of Comer and Strathglass; but how these were at first obtained, or by what combination of circumstances the Chisholms were drawn from the south to the north, we have not ascertained. The head or representative of this family affects the denomination of The Chisholm; a title not remarkable either for its modesty or good taste, and which is apt to provoke a smile when it first meets the eye or the ear of persons not accustomed to such definite and exclusive appellations. Longinus informs us, however, that the Greeks called Homer, *par excellence*, The Poet, and probably this is considered as a sufficient warrant in the North for a laird styling himself The Chisholm.

We have now done, and with these brief notices shall here conclude the history of the Highlands and the Highland Clans. The subject is by no means exhausted, but our space is already more than outrun, and we must satisfy ourselves with sketching an outline where time prevents us from completing a picture. Great and important changes have latterly been wrought in the

North of Scotland, and much that was not long ago matter of observation has already passed into the category of the things that were. Old feelings, old habits, old prejudices, old customs, old traditions, and old superstitions are daily dying out and being forgotten. The process of assimilation is advancing with singular rapidity and effect; and there is every reason to believe that, in a few years more, scarcely a trace will remain of those characteristic peculiarities by which the Highlanders were so long distinguished. Modern innovations have proved fatal to the poetry of the national character; the voice of tradition is mute; old things have passed away, all things are becoming new. But in the page of the chronicler or the historian there will still be found materials sufficient to revive the remembrance of the past, and to cherish that proud feeling of nationality, which is the only solid foundation of real patriotism, and the best inheritance of any people.

THE END.

NOTES

1. The first line, consisting of Colonel Kempt's brigade, the Highlanders and 81st regiment, amounted to about . 2060
The second line to 1145
The 20th, which formed into line at the close of the action, to 564

Number of firelocks 3769

The reserve was not brought into line.

2. The following return will show the number of actions in which the 92d was engaged in the Peninsula and south of France, and the extent of the casualties: —

Place and Date of the Engagements.	Killed.							Wounded.						
	Field-officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Field-officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.
Fuentes d'Honor, May 3d, 1811 (1)										1				9
Villa Formosa, May 5th, 1811 (2)							7	1		1		2		33
Arroyo del Molino, Oct. 28, 1811 (3)							3	1	3					7
Almaraz, May 19th, 1812														2
Alba de Tormes, Nov. 10 and 11, 1812							8			1				33
Vittoria, June 21st, 1813							4					1		15
Puerto de Maya, July 4 and 8, 1813														1
Pyrenees, July 25th, 1813 (4)					2		32	3	3	13		10		258
Pyrenees, July 30th, 1813 (5)							9		1					26
Pyrenees, July 30th and August 1st, 1813 (6)					2		8	1	3	2		3		66
Passage of the Nive, Dec. 9th, 1813														2
Passage of the Nive, Dec. 13, 1814 (7)			3		1		27	1	3	6		7		136
St. Sevor, February 14th, 1814 (8)										1				7
St. Sevor, February 15th, 1814 (9)									1					
St. Sevor, February 17th, 1814														10
Orthes, February 27th, 1814														3
Ayre, March 2d, 1814 (10)							2		1	2		1	1	33
Total			3		5		100	7	15	27		24	1	641

(1) The officer wounded was Lieutenant James Hill.

(2) Major Peter Grant, and Lieutenant Allan Macnab, who died of his wounds.

(3) Lieutenant-Colonel John Cameron, Captains Donald Macdonald, John Macpherson, Nugent Dunbar.

(4) Lieutenant-Colonel John Cameron, Majors James Mitchell and John Macpherson, Captains G. W. Holmes, Ronald Macdonald, Samuel Bevan (died of his wounds), Lieutenants William Fyfe, Donald Macpherson, John J. Chisholm, Donald Macdonald, John Durie, James Kerr Ross, Robert Winchester, George Gordon, John Grant, Ensigns Alexander Macdonald (died of his wounds), George Mitchell, and Ewen Kennedy, who died of his wounds.

(5) Captain G. W. Holmes, died of wounds.

(6) Major John Macpherson, Captains James Seaton, James Lee, Dougald Campbell, and Lieutenant James Hope.

(7) Captains G. W. Holmes, Ronald Macdonald, Donald Macpherson, Lieutenants J. J. Chisholm, Robert Winchester, Ronald Macdonald, John Callanagh, George Mitchell, Ensign William Fraser.

(8) Lieutenant Richard Macdonald.

(9) Captain James Seaton, died of wounds.

(10) Captain William Fyfe, Lieutenants J. A. Durie and Richard Macdonell.

3. Samuel Macdonald, better known by the sobriquet of "Big Sam," was a soldier in this regiment. He was born in the parish of Lairg in Sutherland, and was of extraordinary stature, being seven feet four inches in height, and every way stout in proportion. Being too large to stand in the ranks, he was generally placed on the right of the regiment when in line, and marched at the head when in column. Whether on duty, marching with his regiment, or on the streets, he was always accompanied by a mountain-deer of uncommon size, which was greatly attached to him. Samuel's "parents were of good size, but in nothing otherwise remarkable. Macdonald had fortunately a quiet, equable temper. Had he been irritable, he might, from his immense strength and weight of arm, have given a serious blow, without being sensible of its force. He was considered an excellent drill, from his mild and clear manner of giving his directions. After the peace of 1783 he enlisted in the Royals. From thence he was transferred to the Sutherland Fencibles of 1793. The Countess of Sutherland, with great kindness, allowed him 2*s.* 6*d.* per diem extra pay, judging probably that so large a body must require more sustenance than his military pay could afford. He attracted the notice of the Prince of Wales, and was for some time

one of the porters at Carlton house. When the 93d was raised he could not be kept from his old friends; and joining the regiment, he died in Guernsey in 1802, regretted by his corps as a respectable, trustworthy, excellent man." — *Stewart's Sketches.*

4. The etymology of this name has been variously deduced. Argyle is, according to some, *Iar-Gael,* or the Western Gael; but more probably, *Oirir-Gael,* or the Gael inhabiting the coast-lands.

5. Their expression is, " Rex plurimarum insularum."

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